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FANAGALO AND THE BANTU LANGUAGES IN SOUTH AFRICA[1]

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SYNOPSIS

Extravagant claims have recently been made for Fanagalo as the "lingua franca *of Southern Africa". Attempts have been made to popularize it as "Basic Bantu", and its introduction as a school subject has been advocated. This hybrid of Zulu, English and Afrikaans was probably originated by the Indians in Natal during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and has since spread to the rest of the Union and to the Rhodesias. Its vocabulary is roughly 70 per cent Nguni (mainly Zulu), 24 per cent English, and 6 per cent Afrikaans, in origin, but it retains hardly any of the unique phonetical, morphological and syntactical characteristics of the Nguni and other Bantu languages. It therefore lacks the main features by which Bantu languages are identifiable as such. Furthermore, the Bantu themselves do not automatically understand Fanagalo, but must learn it just as the Europeans do. "Basic Bantu" is therefore a ridiculous and presumptuous misnomer. Fanagalo fulfils a real need on the mines and in certain other industries which employ large labour forces speaking a variety of languages. Otherwise, however, in the interests of improved race relations, its use should be avoided, whereas the study of Bantu languages by Europeans should be encouraged.*

To ATTRACT a host of appellations, mostly scornful and uncomplimentary, seems to be the unhappy lot of that unfortunate stepchild of Creation, the hybrid. Fanagalo, also known as Kitchen-Kafir, Mine-Kafir, Pidgin Bantu, Isilololo,[2] Basic Bantu, Basic Nguni, Basic Zulu, Silunguboi,[3] Conversational Zulu,[4] Isikula, etc., is a case in point. Rarely has a language been known by so many names, yet even this is by no means a complete list thereof!

In recent years, Fanagalo, as we prefer to call it, has been the subject of a considerable amount of publicity. Since 1947 at least four booklets, grammars and dictionaries of Fanagalo, have been published. In September 1948, the Bureau of Adult Education, Pretoria Technical College, started experimental leisure-time classes for the teaching of this language, and shortly afterwards began issuing a postal course as well.[5] About this time a "student of languages" was reported in the press as having suggested, quite seriously, that Fanagalo, or, as he termed it,

[1] This article was originally prepared at the request of Prof. Abel Coetzee, for publication in the *Tydskrif vir Volkskunde en Volkstaal*, of which he is editor, and appears under the title "Fanagalo en die Bantoetale van Suid-Afrika", in Vol. IX, No. 3, February 1953. I am grateful to Prof. Coetzee for permission to publish this English version in *African Studies*.

[2] Because of its extensive use of the "article" *lo*.

[3] The type of *Isilungu* (Zulu for "European language") which is used in speaking to the "boys".

[4] VIDE REG. MAYNE: *Conversational Zulu for the Home*, (Shuter & Shooter, Pietermaritzburg; 1947.)

[5] These courses have subsequently been discontinued.

"Basic Bantu", should replace German as a school subject in the Transvaal. A similar suggestion was made also in Natal, and several letters and articles on the merits and demerits of this strange jargon subsequently appeared in some of our newspapers and journals. Unfortunately much of this publicity has been inaccurate and misleading. Fanagalo has been acclaimed in certain quarters as the *lingua franca* of Southern Africa, "used by millions of speakers every day", and "spoken wherever black meets white from the Cape Peninsula to the Great Lakes of Africa";[1] indeed there are records even of "full-blooded Abyssinians who understood Fanagalo", and of pygmies in "the heart of the Belgian Congo", who responded to Fanagalo after "English, French, Afrikaans (in lieu of Flemish), and one or two Bantu tongues" had failed![2] Attempts have been made, unfortunately not without some success, to popularize the incongruous and presumptuous term "Basic Bantu", and ill-conceived comparisons have been drawn between the development of Fanagalo and that of Afrikaans.[3] What, then, are the facts about this mixture of the Indo-European English and Afrikaans, on the one hand, and Zulu and Xhosa, the two main members of the Nguni group of Bantu languages,[4] on the other?

Concerning the place and date of origin of Fanagalo there seems to be no definite information available. One writer has suggested that "... it was first spoken in the Eastern Cape and Natal, between the predominantly English-speaking European settlers of these areas and Natives speaking one or other of the Nguni languages ..."[5] Another has hinted at the diamond- and gold-fields of Kimberley and Johannesburg as its place of origin.[6] The latter possibility must, in our opinion, be rejected immediately. Both Kimberley and the Witwatersrand are situated in Sotho areas, and, initially at least, must have depended mainly on local labour, but there is hardly anything in Fanagalo which can be derived from any of the Sotho languages. The case for the Eastern Cape is better, for it was there that the first fairly extensive contact took place between the Bantu, mainly of Xhosa stock, and the Europeans. Here however, two points must be noted. Firstly, the major proportion of the European vocabulary in Fanagalo is derived from English, whereas only a relatively small number of words is of Afrikaans or Nederlands origin. Secondly, as far as it is possible to judge, considering how similar the two languages are in basic vocabulary, the Nguni elements appear to be drawn mainly from Zulu, and there is very little which is clearly attributable to Xhosa as such. The conclusion is that Fanagalo developed primarily out of the interaction of English and Zulu, and this must have happened in Natal, some time after 1823, when the first settlement of that territory took place, mainly by English-speaking people.

Perhaps the first informative reference to Fanagalo in literature was a short paper published in the journal *Anthropos* in 1908:[7] "Die Isikula-Sprache in Natal, Südafrika", by Brother Otto O. Trapp of the Marianhill Mission. Trapp's examples are typical of Fanagalo as we know it to-day, and we can therefore assume that it was already well established at the beginning of the present century. He described it as a mixture of English and Zulu, used mainly as a means of communication between the Indians and the Zulus, hence the name *Isikula*, the Zulu for "Coolie language". Here, I believe, we have a clue to the origin of Fanagalo — that the Zulus should have called it the "Coolie language"

[1] K. HOPKIN-JENKINS: *Basic Bantu*, (Shuter & Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, n.d.: 1948.) p. vii.

[2] JOHN D. BOLD: "Fanagalo is becoming the Lingua Franca of Southern Africa", *The Outspan*, May 13, 1949, p. 77.

[3] K. HOPKIN-JENKINS, op. cit., p. vii; JOHN D. BOLD, op. cit., p. 25.

[4] The Bantu languages of the Union of South Africa are divided into four groups, Nguni, Sotho, Tsonga and Venda. The Nguni group includes Zulu of Natal, Xhosa of the Eastern Cape, and Swazi of Swaziland; the Sotho group includes Southern Sotho of Basutoland and the Orange Free State, Northern Sotho of Central, Eastern and Northern Transvaal, and Tswana of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Northern Cape Province, Western Transvaal and Western Orange Free State.

[5] K. HOPKIN-JENKINS, op. cit., p. vii. See also J.D. BOLD: *Fanagalo Dictionary*, (Central News Agency, n.d.: 1952.) p. 6.

[6] B.G. LLOYD: *Kitchen-Kafir Grammar and Vocabulary*, (Central News Agency, n.d.) p. 3.

[7] Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 508–11.

suggests that the Indians were its originators. The only argument against this is that Fanagalo neither contains any Indian words — a point to which Trapp himself drew attention — nor shows any other perceptible evidence of influence from the Indian languages.[1] But it must be remembered that his own language was of no economic value to the Indian at the time. He had perforce to make himself understood to the Englishman and the Zulu, neither of whom spoke his language, or was even remotely interested therein. It follows therefore that the Indian, having acquired limited vocabularies of both English and Zulu, would have mixed the two in attempting to make himself understood. Certainly, if the Indians were not the first to use Fanagalo, they provided much of the impetus for its early development and diffusion ; and since the importation of Indian labour into Natal commenced in 1860, I think it is reasonable to suggest that Fanagalo came into being at about this time.

It may be mentioned in passing that Fanagalo shows no evidence of direct influence from the non-Bantu Hottentot and Bushman languages. Indirectly of course, such influence does exist, for the click consonants of the Nguni languages, and a certain amount of their vocabulary, both of which have been transferred, in very limited degree, to Fanagalo, are attributable to Hottentot-Bushman.

From Natal Fanagalo spread to the diamond and gold mines, and later to other industrial and farming areas of the Union and Southern Rhodesia. Initially it must have been the Europeans who were mainly responsible for carrying the new language beyond the borders of Natal ; later the Indians also probably played a part in its wider dissemination. As the mining industries, more particularly, developed, labour was imported from the Nguni and other areas, with the result that Fanagalo soon became established as the means of communication between European employers or overseers and Bantu labourers. Today it is more extensively used on the Witwatersrand mines than anywhere else. Indeed, without some such *lingua franca* the gold mines would be faced with an almost insuperable language problem, for they employ Bantu labourers speaking forty or more different languages, from as far afield as Angola, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Tanganyika. On many mines new recruits are regularly put through a course of Fanagalo before being sent underground ; on others they learn it while undergoing training in their various duties ; but learn it they must, before becoming effective workers.

In Southern Rhodesia, which has a large population of Ndebele, a Zulu offshoot,[2] Fanagalo spread rapidly, though it has many local differences owing to the influence of Shona, the predominant language. European miners and farmers, emigrating to the north, have carried Fanagalo to Northern Rhodesia and even to the mining areas of the Belgian Congo. Further than this, however, its prospects of advancing are extremely meagre, for it meets with very powerful rivals. Swahili, whose home is on the Kenya and Tanganyika coast, has a variety of debased forms which are used as *linguae francae* right across Central Africa, including Uganda, the northern portions of Portuguese East Africa, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, and a large portion of the Belgian Congo. The Congo form, known as Ngwana, is but one of four such trade languages which are extensively used in that vast territory; the others are Bangala, in the north ; Fiote, in the west ; and Baluba, in the south and centre. But even to the south of the Swahili and Congo spheres, there are other languages which are quite extensively used outside of their own areas as *linguae francae*. These include Nyanja of Nyasaland, Umbundu of central Angola, Lozi of Barotseland in Northern Rhodesia, and Luvale or Lwena of the Balovale District of Northern Rhodesia and adjacent areas in Angola and the Belgian Congo.

An analysis of Fanagalo vocabulary, based on

[1] The principal Indian languages used in South Africa are Tamil, Hindi, Telugu, Gujerati and Urdu.

[2] The Ndebele, popularly known as Matabele, broke away from the Zulus under Shaka in 1823 or thereabouts, under the leadership of Mzilikazi.

material provided by existing publications, reveals that about thirty per cent of the words are of European origin, the proportion of English to Afrikaans being roughly four to one. It is of course, not always easy to determine whether a particular word is derived from English or from Afrikaans, for many cognate roots are very similar in pronunciation, e.g. *sack* / *sak*, *coffee* / *koffie*, *help* / *help*, *bottle* / *bottel*. Nevertheless, a knowledge of phonetics enables one to state with certainty that *melek* < A. *melk*, not E. *milk*;[1] *washa* < E. *wash*, not A. *was*; *botela* < A. *botter*, not E. *butter*; while *payip* (water-pipe) < E. *pipe*, but *peyip* (tobacco-pipe) < A. *pyp*. Some words of European origin have probably come into Fanagalo via Zulu, e.g. *batala* (pay) < Z. *batala* < A. *betaal*, and *foshol* < Z. *ifosholo* < E. *shovel* (with transposition of consonants). An interesting example is *hashi* < Z. *ihhashi* < Hottentot *has* < E. *horse*.[2]

In order to explain many of the peculiarities of Fanagalo, it is necessary to point out that Bantu and European languages differ radically in phonetics, word-form, grammatical structure and syntax. It is hardly surprising therefore that Fanagalo is highly inconsistent, being the product of the interacting forces of two completely divergent systems. In Bantu languages, syllables are typically open, i.e. they end in a vowel. The Bantu speaker of Fanagalo therefore tends to insert vowels between the elements of compound consonants or combinations of consonants which are foreign to him, whereas the European, who is accustomed to closed syllables (ending in consonants), tends to drop many of the vowels in words of Bantu origin. Thus A. *skroef* may become *sikulufu* in the Fanagalo of a Bantu speaker, whereas the European contracts Z. *isikhathi* (time) to *skat*. The general tendency, however, is to drop initial, final, and many intermediate vowels ; in other words, the Bantu type of word form is rapidly giving place to the European pattern, even in the pronunciation of Bantu speakers of Fanagalo. Certain English and Afrikaans sounds also, are foreign to the Bantu languages, and vice versa. Thus English *th* > *d*, *t*, or *f*, and *r* > *l*, e.g. E. *this one* > *diswan* (this), E. *bath* > *baf*, A. *broer* > *blulu* or *bululu* (brother),[3] whereas the click consonants of Zulu are frequently replaced by *k*, e.g. Z. *caβanga* > *kabanga* (think),[4] and Z. *AmaXhosa* > *Makosa* (Xhosa people). Here again, alternative pronunciations occur, according as the speaker is European or Bantu, but with the Bantu type of pronunciation fighting a losing battle !

Another important feature of most Bantu languages is their semantic and grammatical use of tone, e.g. Zulu *inyanga* (doctor, tones High-Low-Low), but *inyanga* (moon, tones High-Low-High). This usage has completely disappeared in Fanagalo, which is spoken with an intonation similar to that of English. Again, in Zulu the penultimate syllable of each word and sentence is characteristically accentuated by pronouncing it with greater length than its fellows, whereas in English and Afrikaans certain syllables are accentuated by stressing them,[5] e.g. *'object* (noun), but *ob'ject* (verb). As one might expect, in Fanagalo the penultimate length-accent of Zulu is replaced by a stress-accent similar to that of English and Afrikaans. Hence Zulu *izinkomo* (cattle), with long and low-toned penultimate syllable *nko*, becomes *lo zinkomo*, with long, stressed and high-toned *ko*.[6]

The following are a few miscellaneous examples of Fanagalo words which are derived from English and Afrikaans : *aina* (press, iron) < E. *iron* ; *basopa* (take care, look after) < A. *pas op* ; *bulughwe* (bridge) < A. *brug* ; *bontshis* (beans) < A. *boontjies* ; *fesklas* (good, excellent) < E. *first class* ; *langwan* (tall, long) < E. *long one* ; *mbaimbai* (later on, presently) < E. *bye and bye* ;

[1] A. = Afrikaans ; E. = English ; Z. = Zulu.

[2] In Hottentot, a sex-denoting language, *has* is feminine gender, *hap* masculine, and *hai* common. The Hottentot *s* is, in this case, a "lisped" sound intermediate between English *s* and *sh*, hence the appearance of *sh* in Zulu.

[3] The *r* sounds of English and Afrikaans do not occur in Nguni. In Shona, however, *r* occurs, but not *l*, hence E. *blanket* > *buranget*, and E. *blue* > *bru* in Rhodesian Fanagalo.

[4] Zulu has two types of *b* sound, explosive *b* and implosive *ɓ*.

[5] Stress in English and Afrikaans is usually associated with increased length and raised tone.

[6] Note also the change in syllabic division.

mosha (spoil, mess, waste) < A. *mors ; nikis* (nothing) < A. *niks ; nyuwan* (new) < E. *new one ; shova* (push) < E. *shove ; skop* (head) < A. *kop ; skiti* (pound) < A. *skut ; skafu* (food) < E. *scoff;*[1] *Sonto* (Sunday, week, church) < A. *Sondag ; stin* (brick) < A. *steen ; stes* (stairs) < E. *stairs ; stoplayit* (robot) < E. *stop light.*

Most of the words listed above are fairly easy to identify, even for the layman, but some "Fanagalized" words are distorted almost beyond recognition, e.g. *klabish* (cabbage) < E. *cabbage ; vodlela* (carrot) < A. *wortel ; sikwelete* (debt) < A. *skuld ; sihlutula* (key, lock) < A. *sleutel ; skrumpat* (tractor) < A. *skilpad* (tortoise). In some cases the original European word is camouflaged by the addition of a Bantu formative element, e.g. *layisha* (load) < A. *laai* plus verb-forming suffix *–sha ; bitshan* or *mbitshana* (a little, slightly) < A. *bietjie* plus diminutive suffix *–ana ; bitshanisa* (make small, reduce) < *bitshan* plus causative suffix *–isa ; tshipisa* (cheapen, reduce price) < E. *cheap* plus *–isa*. No less interesting are some of the compound words in which one part is of European origin and the other Bantu, e.g. *tshisa-stik* (fuse lighter) < Z. *shisa* (set alight, burn) and E. *stick ; makaza-mbitshan* (cool) < Z. *amakhaza* (cold) and *mbitshan* (slightly) ; *tshisa-mbitshan* (warm) < Z. *shisa* (burn) and *mbitshan ; sokismude* (stocking) < E. *socks* and Z. *omude* (long) ; *hayikona-stelek* (weak) < Z. *ayikhona* (it is not there) and A. *sterk* (strong). Intriguing and amusing also are the associations of ideas which have produced the following : *strongimani* (circus) < E. *strong man ; injin-faya* or *injin-fayif* (racing-car) < E. *fire-engine* (with inverted word-order) ; and *tayimholo* (town hall). To the Bantu the feats of the "strong man" are apparently more impressive than any other item on the circus programme ; a speeding fire-engine is more spectacular and exciting than a racing-car in action ; and however the English may choose to pronounce the word, we know that it is from the clock of the *tayimholo* that we can get the correct *time* !

As in other "pidgin" languages, certain words do much more than their fair share of work. Thus *stelek* < A. *sterk* (strong) expresses *hard, well, very, strongly, thoroughly ;* and *skelem* < A. *skelm* (rogue, scoundrel) is used in reference to anything unreliable, dangerous or destructive, e.g. *skelem smok* (carbon monoxide, poisonous gas ; *smok* < E. *smoke*). Undoubtedly one of the most hard-worked words in Fanagalo is *pikanin*, which expresses *small, short, narrow, young, child, junior*, etc., as in *pikanin hashi* (foal) ; *pikanin tshopa* (hatchet ; *tshopa* < E. *chopper*); *pikanin mes* (pen-knife ; *mes* < A. *mes*) ; *pikanin sicogo* (cap ; *sicogo* < Z. *isigqoko*, hat) ; *pikanin foloman* (young foreman, small foreman, junior foreman) ; *basop pikanin* (nurse or look after a child) ; *figa pikanin* (shrink ; *figa* < Z. *fika*, arrive).

Grammatically and syntactically Fanagalo retains hardly any Bantu characteristics. Of several more or less unique features of the Bantu languages, there are two which stand out as the hallmarks of this family. The first is the system of noun prefixes. In Zulu there are fifteen regular prefixes, some singular, others plural, which are arranged in eight classes, e.g. 1. **umu***ntu* / **aba***ntu* (person / people) ; 2. **umu***thi* / **imi***thi* (tree / trees) ; 3. **i***qanda* / **ama***qanda* (egg / eggs) ; 4. **isi***hlalo* / **izi***hlalo* (chair / chairs) ; 5. **in***kabi* / **izin***kabi* (ox / oxen), etc. However, except for a few remnants, this system of noun classes has disappeared in Fanagalo. The great majority of nouns have no specialized singular prefix, and assume *ma–* in the plural, e.g. *skatul / maskatul* (shoe / shoes ; cf. Z. *isicathulo / izicathulo*) ; a few retain the *mu– / ba–* prefixes, e.g. *muntu / bantu* (person / people), and the Zulu class 5 is preserved in quite a number of forms such as *nkabi / zinkabi* (ox / oxen).

The second major characteristic of Bantu languages is the system of "concords". Every word which is grammatically related to a noun, be it pronoun, adjective (of which there are several different types), possessive or verb, must show that relationship by assuming a prefixal formative which agrees concordially with the noun prefix. There is a full set of these concords for each class of nouns, singular and plural,

[1] South African English, "from Dutch *schoft*, quarter of a day (hence, meal)", O.E.D.

and usually the same or similar consonant or vowel as appears in the noun prefix is repeated in the concords, producing a delightful alliterative effect. For examplë in Zulu we find :

A6a*fana* **6a***mi* **a6a***khulu* **6a***yasebenza* **6o***nke*
Sons of-me big are-working all
All my big sons are working

Izin*komo* **za***mi* **ezin***kulu* **zi***yakla6a* **zo***nke*
Cattle of-me big are-grazing all
All my big cattle are grazing

Of this fascinating system of concords, which puts music and poetry into every Bantu sentence, nothing at all remains in Fanagalo ! It is perhaps in a sub-conscious attempt to compensate for this loss, and to accommodate the European preference for a definite or indefinite article,[1] that speakers of Fanagalo acquired the habit of putting *lo* before every noun, and a "personal pronoun" before every verb, even if the subject be expressed. Thus we have : *Lo foloman yena funa lo nyuzi-pepa na lo ti* (The foreman he want the newspaper and the tea) ; *Lo wil ga lo motokali yena pontshiwe* (The wheel of the motorcar he punctured) ; *Lo Mary yena deka lo taful* (The Mary he lays the table). There is no indefinite form corresponding to the so-called "definite article" *lo*, and it is noteworthy that the latter is used also before proper names ! By origin *lo* is a Zulu demonstrative pronoun, one of a concordial series, meaning *this*. In the name *Fanagalo* we have it retaining its demonstrative significance — *fana* (be like, resemble), *ga* (with, of), *lo* (this), hence *fanagalo* (thus, like this). Since *Enza fanagalo !* (Do like this ! Make like this !) is one of the most commonly used expressions in the language — certainly the new and inexperienced "boy" has it dinned into his ears from morning till night — it is hardly surprising that the language has come to be known as Fanagalo. The "personal pronouns" are *mina* (I), *tina* (we), *wena* (thou), *nina* (you) and *yena* (he, she, it, they), and are taken from the full concordial series of "Absolute Pronouns" which occurs in Zulu.

[1] There are no articles in the Bantu languages.

The fate of the noun class and concord systems has been suffered also by the various other structural peculiarities which characterize the Bantu languages; either they have disappeared completely or only remnants thereof remain in Fanagalo. Of the extensive system of verbal prefixes and suffixes which express distinctions of mood and tense and other specialized ideas in Nguni, only a very few such as the passive *–wa*, causative *–isa* and past *–ile*, are still retained, and even then irregularly and inconsistently ; examples of their use are *pentwa* (be painted) < *penta* < E. *paint ; figisa* (bring, cause to come) < *figa* (come, arrive); *shefile* (have shaved) < *shefa* < E. *shave ; Yinindaba wena hayikona shefile namhla ?* (Why have you not shaved to-day ?).

As regards syntax, the simple Bantu sentence is fundamentally the same in word-order as that of English or Afrikaans, i.e. Subject-Verb-Object / Adverb, and Fanagalo naturally conforms thereto. One outstanding difference, however, is that Bantu adjectives follow the nouns which they qualify ; Fanagalo has adopted the European pattern and puts the adjective first, e.g. *makaza manzi* (cold water), cf. Z. *amanzi amakhaza ; maningi santi* (much sand), cf. Z. *isihlaßathi esiningi ; zonke skafu* (all the food), cf. Z. *ukudla konke ; nyuwan motokali* (a new motorcar), cf. Z. *imoto entsha*. Again, whereas interrogative words in English and Afrikaans are usually placed first in the sentence, they usually follow the verb in Zulu. In Fanagalo the European word-order is used, e.g. *Bani wena funa ?* (Whom do you want ?), cf. Z. *Ufuna ußani ? Ipi wena sebenza ?* (Where do you work ?), cf. Z. *Usebenza-phi ?*

Many more comparisons of this type could be made, but they would involve us in further lengthy explanations of Bantu word and sentence structure. The evidence already adduced is more than sufficient to show quite conclusively that Fanagalo lacks the main features by which linguists recognize and identify languages as being Bantu. It is true that the bulk of its vocabulary, i.e. about 70 per cent, is of Nguni-Bantu origin, and it is interesting, by way of comparison, to note that modern classical Swahili contains over

30 per cent of foreign vocabulary, acquired mainly from Arabic. The difference is that in all other respects Swahili is essentially Bantu, whereas Fanagalo is not. In any case, for Fanagalo even the criterion of vocabulary, taken alone, would be inconclusive, for Nguni is by no means typical of Bantu in this respect, as is shown by the extensive occurrence therein of non-Bantu click-words.

It is important to emphasise that Fanagalo is *not* a Bantu language, for its champions persist in stating or implying that it is. Apart from using such phrases as "a really easy Bantu language" and "like other Bantu languages" in reference thereto, some of them have had the effrontery to call it "Basic Bantu", "Basic Nguni", etc. The term *Bantu* is correctly applied to a family of some 200 or more separate languages, apart from dialects, which extend from the Cameroons, Congo, Uganda and Kenya in the north to the Union and South West Africa in the south. Obviously therefore, it is no more possible to produce a "Basic Bantu" than it would be to do the same for the vast Indo-European family of languages. The selection of a basic vocabulary can be done, of course, for any individual Bantu language, as it has been for English by C.K. Ogden and for Afrikaans by Barnes; however, were any Bantuist to produce a "Basic Zulu" or even a "Basic Nguni", which is possible, it would bear extremely little resemblance to Fanagalo.

Another important point is that the Bantu do *not* automatically understand Fanagalo; they have to learn it, just as the Europeans do. Having learned it, the unsophisticated Bantu fondly imagine that they are speaking the language of the White man[1] — so different is it from their own languages! From the Bantu point of view therefore, Fanagalo, which serves mainly as a means of communication with Europeans, might with equal justification be called "Basic English" or "Basic Afrikaans" or "Basic European" — which is patently ridiculous!

Equally ridiculous and ignorant is any suggestion that the origin and development of Fanagalo are comparable with those of Afrikaans. The latter has developed out of the natural and spontaneous modification of the phonetic, morphological and syntactical structures of its Nederlands parent, with some accretions from other members of the same language family, in the same way as modern English and other European languages have developed from earlier forms. Fanagalo, on the other hand, is not a spontaneous or natural outgrowth from Zulu, but a disintegrated mixture of mutilated elements from two entirely different language families.

It is hardly surprising, considering the nature of its development and its function, that Fanagalo has an extremely limited range of expression; that the recently published *Fanagalo Dictionary*, by J.D. Bold,[2] contains only a little over 1,200 entries in the Fanagalo-English section is convincing proof of this. Lest we forget, this "language", with its total vocabulary of under 2,000 words, has been proposed for study in our schools, as a substitute for German! The following examples, taken from the literature on Fanagalo, will illustrate what clumsy methods must be employed to express anything more than the most straight-forward ideas; note that relative clause constructions, for example, are expressed by mere juxtaposition of sentences. In each case a literal translation is given, followed by the "idiomatic" rendering of the original text.

Mina funa lo muntu yena sebenza stelek (I want the person he work strong; "I want a boy who works well")

Biza mina lo skati lo telefom yena kala (Call me the time the telephone he cry; "Call me when the telephone rings")

Ngaganani pezulu lo muti? (How-big above the tree?; "How high is the tree?")

[1] This is naively quoted as a "standing joke" by JOHN D. BOLD, op. cit., *The Outspan*, p. 77.

[2] "... although a couple of vocabularies giving the Fanagalo equivalents of some English words have appeared, there has been no attempt to compile a comprehensive dictionary. This two-way dictionary ... is therefore a pioneering effort." (p. 5). Nevertheless, B.G. LLOYD's *Kitchen-Kafir Grammar and Vocabulary*, also "two-way", seems to contain two or three hundred more entries.

Tina funa yidla lo skafu ndaba tina lambile (We want eat the food affair we hungry ; "We want to eat the food because we are hungry")

Mina yazi nombola yena tshela hamba kanjani (I know number he tell travel how; "I know what the speed limit is")

Lo skati wena pega lo nyama ga lo ngulube, pega yena stelek (The time you cook the meat of the pig, cook him well ; "Don't eat underdone pork" ! !)

After this — and many more such examples could be quoted — it is probably superfluous to mention that Fanagalo is almost incapable of expressing abstract concepts.

One cannot resist the temptation, in conclusion, to quote the following remarks on Fanagalo, translated from a recently published article by Prof. J. A. Engelbrecht and Dr. D. Ziervogel, of the Department of Bantu Languages in the University of Pretoria : "The champions thereof commend it as the desirable *lingua franca* between European and Native ; ... About the value thereof as a means of getting by, no one wishes to quibble. It is a makeshift in the same sense as a sequence of strung-together French words can be when a Russian and an Englishman meet ; yet no one would assert that these two people were engaged in speaking French. So also with Fanagalo : it is a hotch-potch of words which is born out of the necessity and quandary of the moment, and which therefore never replaces the genuine article.... The champions of Fanagalo still regard the Bantu as a hewer of wood and drawer of water, and not as a person with his own emotions, culture and traditions, thus he is to them merely *Wena boy, tshetshisa enza lo ti!* (You boy, hurry make the tea !). If this is to be our approach to the Native problem, it must remain a problem. If on the contrary, our aim is to make the Bantu individual a good and independent fellow-countryman, we shall have to address him in something better than this jargon before he becomes convinced of our good intentions."[1] Lest there be any doubt about the validity of this statement the following entries, but a few of many in similar vein, are quoted from *So! You want to learn the language! An Amusing and Instructive Kitchen Kaffir Dictionary*, by S.E. Aitken-Cade :[2]

As, adv.... *sa*. Unbelievable but true. Proves that the native mind works in the opposite direction to ours ...

BEAT, vb. ... *chaiya*. "I'll beat you." "Mena chaiya wena." If you are going to get any effect do it first and talk later.

GO, vb. int. ... *hamba* (hortative — footsack).

LIE, vb. ... It is extraordinary that there are so few words to describe this national pastime of the native Africans ...

SCANDAL, n. ... Cannot find a word in K.K. Possibly nothing scandalous in K. K. Just natural.

SHAME, vb. int. ... Is there such a word ?

TIE, vb. tr. ... *bopa*. "Tie him to that baling press until the police come." "*Bopa yena lapa screw paka yena fika Mapolisa.*"

TRUNK, n. (of elephant) ... *hands ga lo njobvu.*

ZEBRA, n. ... *donkey ga lo football jersey.*

In the present circumstances Fanagalo fulfils a real need on the mines and in certain other industries where the multiplicity of languages

[1] „Die voorstanders hiervan prys dit aan as die gewenste omgangstaal tussen blanke en naturel ;... Oor die nut daarvan as 'n middel om oor die weg te kom, wil niemand redekawel nie. Dis 'n noodshulp in dieselfde sin as wat 'n reeks aaneengerygde Franse woorde dit kan wees wanneer Rus en Engelsman mekaar ontmoet ; tog sou niemand dan beweer dat hierdie twee persone besig was om Frans te praat nie. So ook met Fanagalo : dis 'n sameflansing van woorde wat uit die nood en verleentheid van die oomblik gebore word en dus nooit die egte munt vervang nie... Die voorstanders van Fanagalo sien die Bantoe nog steeds as houthakker en waterdraer en nie as persoon met eie emosies, eie kultuur en eie agtergrond nie, dus bly hy vir hulle maar net *Wena boy, tshetshisa enza lo ti*! As dit ook ons benadering van die naturelleprobleem sou wees, moet dit 'n probleem bly. Is dit daarenteen ons strewe om die Bantoe-indiwidu 'n goeie en selfstandige medelandsbewoner te maak, sal ons hom in iets beters as hierdie geradbraakte taal moet aanspreek voordat hy van ons goeie bedoelings oortuig raak." („Die Keuse van 'n Bantoetaal op Skool", *Journal of Racial Affairs*, Vol. 2, No. 2, January 1951, pp. 29–30.)

[2] Centafrican Press, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia : May 1951.

creates an enormous problem of communication. It is of great value in the normal prosecution of the work, in the prevention of accidents, and in the maintenance of satisfactory relations between the workers, for lack of mutual understanding may lead to friction and violence. Wherever possible, however, its use is to be discouraged, for to address the Bantu in this debased jargon, if not insulting, is certainly not courteous. The future progress and prosperity of South Africa are dependent on the establishment of goodwill and mutual respect between the different peoples of the country, and one of the prerequisites for mutual understanding is the knowledge of one another's languages ; therefore the introduction of Bantu languages as subjects for study in European schools must be heartily welcomed — but Fanagalo is not one of these.

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KIKUYU TALES

C. CAGNOLO

PART III

17. A CLEVER MAN

There was once a man who had a wife and four children. Near the entrance to his homestead there was a huge mound of dung,[1] the infallible sign of richness among the Akikuyu. In fact he possessed large herds of cattle and hundreds of sheep and goats. Every time people wanted meat for feasting, they used to go to him and buy from him as many as they wished, without exhausting his stock.

One day he had a quarrel with his wife on account of her stinginess in serving him his daily food. There was no lack of food in his house, but he had noticed that the best of everything edible very often disappeared from his store, never to be found again.

At the end of the harvest season he slaughtered a beautiful ewe. It was very fat and had an extra large hump. Like every genuine Kikuyu of the tradition, he took care to distribute the meat according to the tribal customs. So his wife was given her specified parts of the animal due to her social position ; the boys of the family their own, as also the small girls. He put aside also the selected parts eaten by the elders, i.e. the hump, the lungs, the fat and so on, which he intended to eat with some of his numerous friends. Before retiring he had a look around, inspecting the stable to see if all was right with his calves, milk-cows and the penned rams. During his absence his wife went to the store, chose the best pieces of the meat and concealed them, with the intention of making a present to a man who was her secret friend. When the husband returned to the meat store, he found to his surprise that the best cuts were gone. He asked his wife : "Where is the meat which I left here, the hump and the interior parts of the animal ?"

"I don't know", said the wife ; "I think that a dog ate it when I was not here."

"Where did you go ?"

"I went to the valley to collect some sweet potato vines for the calves ; and the children were not here."

"But how did you know that the meat was eaten by the dog if you were absent ?"

"I have seen the traces near the door of the hut."

The husband did not push the investigation further, but he doubted very much the truth of his wife's statement. In the evening darkness, the cunning woman stealthily left her hut and, carrying a small bundle under her arm, went to

[1] When entering a Kikuyu homestead, one is often struck by the sight of a large mound of dung, old and fresh, mixed with ashes, accumulated a few yards from the entrance to the home. It is the rubbish-pit where the refuse is thrown ; but in our case, it isn't a pit, it is a mound. The dimensions of the mound is in direct proportion to the wealth of the family, and in some cases, to the age of the hut.

In the majority of cases sheep and goats sleep in the same hut as the owners. The Akikuyu say that a hut without sheep and goats is terribly cold and lonely, and soon becomes infested with jiggers. The hut has to be swept daily, and all the sweepings are invariably thrown on the heap outside the entrance. It is tabu to throw it elsewhere, especially the ashes from the fireplace. Just imagine a polygamist, who married several wives and consequently built several huts ; it is easy to understand how quickly the mound grows in proportion. The dung and rubbish so accumulated are an excellent fertilizer, which would do much good if spread on the fields. But it is also tabu to dispose of it with that of a different household. The sheep would die and the members of the family would get sick or be struck by other misfortunes. In these days, however, education, a knowledge of hygiene and agricultural instruction, have already deeply affected their superstitions, and the mounds of dung are fast disappearing, to find an excellent use in manuring the fields.

see her friend, telling him not to come to see her during the night, because the master was at home. She gave him a good present of meat and gruel, and hastily returned to her hut. She used to do so especially when her husband had a gathering of friends at his house for a feast or business transaction, on which occasions he always made a point of treating his guests with generosity.

Time passed away, and the husband got tired of the dirty tricks of his wife. One day he reprimanded her very severely. The wife pretended to be sorry, repented in front of him, and promised to mend her ways. In order to complete the appeasement, she prepared a full calabash of good gruel (*ochoro*) and presented it to him to drink. Her husband was not a man to be conquered so easily. He refused to drink it unless she confessed where the meat went, that so often disappeared from his house. The cunning woman refused to reveal her crooked ways. The husband then decided to have recourse to other means, trying to catch his wife red-handed.

Every time he saw his wife busy preparing different kinds of food, he knew that something suspicious was taking place. So he watched her very closely. After several days he discovered every place where she used to hide the different kinds of food intended for her friend during the nocturnal visits. With some excuse he sent her on errands, or to cultivate the distant fields and, during her absence, he served himself from the selected food, and had a good fill. His better half was very puzzled, asking herself where her food could have gone. Who might have eaten it? And queerly enough, her husband was getting fat and bulky, and she knew that the little food she usually gave him could not justify so great a change. She began to be suspicious of her husband, and decided to watch him in all his movements.

One day the husband told his wife to go and collect a bundle of sweet potato vines for the calves. The garden was far away in the valley. She went immediately, cut the vines hastily, and rushed home with her bundle on her back. In the meantime the husband had gone to the hiding place where the food was stored. He removed the grass which covered it, and found a good piece of meat, a gourd of gruel, bananas and some boiled arum. The meal was prepared for somebody else, but he thought that he, being the master of the house, was more entitled than anybody else to enjoy those delicacies. He started gulping down long draughts of gruel, and in few minutes he finished it. He tasted the boiled arums. They were excellent. So he did with the bananas until all were finished. There remained the meat. He didn't remove it for the moment, and thought he had better cover it again with the grass, and get off quickly in order to escape the vigilance of his wife. He had a glance around to make sure that nobody saw him. But lo ! His eyes met the eyes of his wife who was spying on him from behind the granary.

The husband didn't lose his wits a bit. He started grumbling loudly, throwing the empty gourd and the other empty receptacles over the fence, saying at the same time : "I will never drink this gruel ; I will always pour it on the ground like this. I will never eat this food. I will always throw it over the fence like this." He said all that in a very angry tone, so that the wife was struck with fright. She thought that her husband never ate her food but only threw it over the fence, out of contempt for her. She repented sincerely this time, asked for pardon, and never again indulged in any other love adventure outside her wedlock.

Women have not very much thought ; but nothing but death can stop their love.

18. FIDELITY REWARDED

Long ago there was a family which consisted of father, mother and a son. After some time the mother died. The father continued to live with his son for many years. One day he fell sick and, knowing that his last hour was near, called his son to his bedside and manifested to him his last will. He began thus : "My dear son, listen to these my last words. Do not talk about other people's business ; never reveal to your wife the secrets of your heart ; never miss the secret meetings of the men of your locality ; never sleep in valleys.

When I am dead, you must cut one of my fingers, the index, and bury it near the fence of our homestead. Remember, you must do that in great secrecy, and you must never reveal the fact to anybody, but keep it for yourself alone." After these words the old man closed his eyes and died.

The son followed the father's will[1] to the letter. He buried the finger in the place indicated by his father, and after that he built a new hut for himself near the fence where the finger was buried. After some time a beautiful tree grew up in the very place where father's finger has been buried. It was a marvellous tree with very rich foliage, an attractive shape, a gracious crown, a straight trunk, and a sweet scent emanated from its flowers. The specimen was quite new in the country and people were much puzzled about the origin of such a peculiar tree. Many people came to the boy to inquire where he got such a beautiful tree ; but the boy, remembering the warning of his father, never revealed the secret. Many went to him with attractive presents in order to know something about the secret, but the boy never betrayed the pledge he gave to his dying father.

A cunning man, who had several daughters, thought to win the boy in a way which he knew to be infallible. He chose the best daughter and sent her to the boy with full consent to consider her as his wife. The girl was very charming, and the boy accepted her companionship. The girl was instructed by her father to use all her feminine subtilties and arts to win the confidence of the boy, in order to secure the secret of the tree. The girl tried to exploit every circumstance, but she never succeeded in penetrating the secret. Now and then she used to go home, and the usual question she was asked by her father was : "Have you been told the secret of the tree ?" "No, not yet," answered the girl, "the boy is very clever and still persists in his silence." The father of the girl wouldn't give up. He knew full well that sooner of later he would succeed in knowing the secret of the tree. So he instructed the girl to stay with the young man for another period of time, and all would come right in the end.

After several months the girl gave birth to a baby. The young man was very pleased with this event, and took great trouble in demonstrating to her his affection, by procuring special food for her, good nursing, and by making a great feast with the neighbours of the village for the circumstance. The girl thought that the opportunity was too good to let slip, and so tried again. She looked at the young man with entreating eyes, and after a long sigh said : "Darling, I know you love me very dearly, but if you want to make me really happy with this your child, you must tell me one thing, and I will be the happiest woman in the whole world."

"What is that ?" asked the boy, with a radiant face.

"Tell me, please, the name of that wonderful tree which is near the fence of our courtyard."

"Yes, dear, that is a secret. But my love for you is so great and sincere that I cannot hide it any longer ; your heart being my heart itself. The only condition I put to you is this : you must not divulge the secret to anybody in the world, not even to your father or mother. Can you promise all that ?"

"Yes, darling."

"Well, the name of the tree is : Finger of my father."

The girl rejoiced greatly in her heart. At last she had succeeded in finding the secret. She collected all her belongings together, made a bundle of them, and, during the absence of her husband, cleared quickly off and returned to her father. When she met her father, the first thing she told him was the name of the marvellous tree. The father was very glad over her success, and in few days all the villagers around knew of the discovery.

[1] Among the Akikuyu nothing is more sacred and respected than the last will of a father to his son. Such respect could be ascribed to filial devotion, but that is not the full explanation. Belief in spirits is very strong among the Akikuyu, and the relation between the spirit of a dead father and his son is uninterrupted. If the son does not behave properly and in conformity with the will of his father and ancestors, he will be punished by ill-luck and misfortune. Such belief constantly recalls the son's attention to the last will of his departed father.

When the young man returned to his home, he found the house empty. His beloved wife was gone, leaving behind her nothing but emptiness and solitude. The poor wretch was very sad, and began to realize that he had broken the pledge he gave to his father, and now he had to bear the bitter consequences. He tried to be brave in his misfortune ; but after a few months he could not endure his calamity any longer, and decided to leave the place in search of new adventures and a new life.

He travelled for many days and reached a country of plenty, rich in food, game and live stock.[1] He met a man who was grazing a large herd of cattle with the help of his son, a handsome boy of fifteen years of age. They started by exchanging greetings, and after a long conversation, the old man asked the young man to remain with him, assuring him that he would be happy again in his home. The young man accepted and became an adopted member of that family.

One day the master of the house took part in a hunting party, and asked the young man to accompany him. When already deep in the bush, he noticed that he had left all his poisoned arrows at home. He told the young man to hurry home and bring the arrows. In less than an hour the young man was at his master's house, took the arrows and, without saying a single word to the people there, returned to the hunting party.

At the master's house he had found something unusual. A stranger was sitting near the master's wife in sweet conversation, engaged in open flirtation with her. The young man moved about the house quite unconcerned, and did not inquire at all about the intruder. The woman however resented the disturbance deeply, fearing that the young man would report to his master the infidelity of his wife. From that day on she began to hate him, and her hatred went so far as to wish the death of the young man. She tried many times to have him expelled from the family, but did not succeed. On the other hand, the young man never mentioned the incident he had witnessed at his master's home. He remembered too well the warning of his father at his death-bed : never interfere with other people's affairs.

The hunting party spent two days in the bush, and returned home well satisfied with many trophies. On their way home they found themselves in a valley after sunset. The young man said : "Master, forgive me I must go up to the top of the hill, because my father told me, before dying, never to sleep in a valley." The master said : "All right, my son, I will accompany you up there, because it is not good for you to sleep alone in this locality." The other members of the party slept in the valley. During the night, a terrible thunder storm broke over the place. The rain poured and poured down in torrents, carrying such a quantity of earth and rubble into the valley that all the members of the hunting party who slept there perished, buried under the mud.

Next morning, when the master realized what had happened during the night and how he had escaped disaster, he thanked the young man very heartily for his wisdom and fidelity to his father's warnings. In fact he had saved his life.

As soon as they arrived home, the wife of the master began to look at the young man with suspicion. Surely, she thought, he must have revealed to my husband my flirtation. I must get rid of him in some way or another. She invented a lot of lies, and fabricated a very serious accusation against the poor young man, insisting that some drastic decision should be taken, and that very soon, before it was too late. The master did not investigate her machinations very deeply, and accepted the false reports as simple truth. He asked his wife : "What shall we do with him ?" "Death", promptly answered the wicked woman, "is the only means of cleansing your home. Choose what you prefer best between poison and the spear ; but he must get out of our way for ever." The master made up his mind. He sent a messenger to the shepherds, who guarded his

[1] It is astonishing to see, in the lower part of Kikuyuland, large herds of cattle grazing on the common prairies. One wonders how a Kikuyu can possess such large numbers of cattle. The fact is that the large herd does not belong to one person only, but to many persons, who put their cattle together, and graze them by turn for a period of six days called *roru*. The shepherds may be two or more at a time. During their grazing turn they are entitled to the milk of the herd.

herds in the distant prairies, with an order to dig a very deep pit, and to throw in it the first man to appear there the following morning. The following day, very early in the morning, the master called the young man, and told him to go to inspect the herds and report upon them. Without any suspicion of what was planned against him, the lad took a stick in his hands and left the house. On the way to the prairies he saw a column of smoke rising from the bush and a group of men gathered around a fire. He remembered the warning of his father : Never miss the secret meetings of the men of your locality. He postponed the visit to the herds, and decided to see what was going on in that gathering of men. He found a good number of people occupied in roasting a fat he-goat. They invited him to remain with them and have some meat. He accepted, and spent a few hours with them.

In the meantime the master had sent his real son to inspect the herds too, and to report immediately how things were going on with the shepherds. He was the first man to appear there. According to the word received the previous day, the shepherds seized him, threw him in the pit, and buried him alive.

After some time the young man arrived at the stables, and found the shepherds busy filling a pit with earth. He passed them without saying a word. He inspected the herds, the stables, and the prairies, and returned back to report to his master. When the master and his wife saw him back, they had a terrible shock, and realized immediately the tragedy of the mistake. The master went to see his relations. They held a special meeting at his house and a big discussion took place. They found ample evidence proving that the master's wife was to be held responsible for the death of her own son. She was asked why she wished to kill the stranger lad. She then revealed the whole story of her infidelity, her wrong relations with another man who was not her husband, how she felt ashamed in the presence of a witness of her infidelity, and how she was afraid of her husband himself, thinking that he had been told everything by the lad. On the contrary the young man never talked about her to her husband. He remembered too well the solemn warning of his father : "Never interfere with other people's affairs."

At the end of the discussion the master was very cast down. After some respite of silence, he stood up in front of the whole gathering and said in solemn tone : "We have discussed enough. I am thoroughly convinced that the cause of the death of my son is my wife. Consequently I order that she be killed straight away by you."

She was pushed into the thick bush and killed. The master was so grieved over the loss of his son, that for many days he took no food, and in the end committed suicide. He left a terrible curse[1] upon whomsoever would touch his inheritance, cattle and all, which he bequeathed to the stranger, the young man.

19. JEALOUSY PUNISHED

Long long ago, before the Iregi and Goko generations ruled the country, a group of girls decided to have the two lower incisor teeth filed,[2] to add beauty to their features according to Kikuyu custom. They went to a man called Moirore, who was an expert in filing teeth. They paraded in front of him in a straight line, like a platoon of soldiers, waiting their turn to be attended to and beautified. The leader of the group was a beautiful girl with velvet brownish colour, a straight body and a charming smile. She was called Wamwero. She was the first to

[1] A curse left by a dying person is a terrible torment to every Kikuyu man. It works deeply on his mentality and soul, causing despondency and physical distress. He goes to the witchdoctor to be cleansed, but sometimes his vexation goes so far as to cause illness, extreme dejection and even death.

[2] The filing of teeth is only partial in the Kikuyu tribe. It differs a great deal from the practice of their neighbours the Wakamba, who reduce their teeth to needle sharpness. The Kikuyu filing is reduced to an aperture in the middle of the incisors of the lower jaw. They call it *njaromi*. Generally they say that it adds beauty to the teeth, others say it is a good precaution in case of disease. If the jaws become clenched together, there would remain a small hole, through which one can introduce water of liquid food into the mouth of the patient. Many people can spit their saliva a few yards' distance through this aperture.

be attended to by the dentist, and, the operation over, she laughed heartily before the other girls, who were astonished at the improvement in her beauty, after the treatment of her teeth. They said among themselves : "How charming she is now ! Yes, we must have our teeth filed, and we will be charming too." That gave heart to some of them, who showed an ill-concealed fear before undergoing the operation.

One by one they all went through the ordeal ; but, notwithstanding their wish and their effort, none of them could equalize Wamwero in beauty and grace. They were looking at one another and saying : "Look at my teeth, aren't they as nice as those of Wamwero ?" But the answer always was : "Stop showing me your teeth, they are rubbish in comparison with those of Wamwero."

After chatting and laughing for a long time, they decided to return to their home. On their way home they laughed and laughed loudly as Kikuyu girls usually do, always scrutinizing and comparing the beauty of their teeth ; but Wamwero was always supreme among the whole group.

At last they arrived at a big river called Sagana.[1] One of them said : "Let us cross this river by swimming !" The water was very deep and running fast. The girls went nearly half-way across the river, but got afraid of the current and returned back to the point from where they had started. Wamwero alone went on cutting the waves with great agility and strength, and reached the other bank very easily. She turned to the other girls, and had a hearty laugh at them. The girls resented the mocking of Wamwero, and could not bear any longer the humiliation of their inferiority. Jealousy worked deeply in their hearts. They remained silent for a while, and then decided to take revenge on their rival.

Across the upper part of the river there was a bridge.[2] Wamwero proceeded on the right bank of the river, and the other girls on the left bank, with the intention of all meeting on the bridge. On their way there, the girls met a hyena and asked it : "You hyena, if we give you a girl to eat, what would you give us in return ?" The hyena answered: "If you really mean to do that, I will give you a very fat sheep, a very big one, so that you may enjoy a good meal too." They agreed with the hyena, and planned how to deal with their rival Wamwero, getting rid of her once and for all. They knew of a cave on the flank of a very steep hill. They would go there, and one by one enter the cave, pretending to touch the bottom of it, and coming back with a handful of white earth. When the turn came for Wamwero to enter, they would close the entrance at her back, and call the hyena to do the rest.

The hyena agreed to the plan, and gave them a beautiful sheep to eat. They met Wamwero on the bridge, and told her that a young man had given them the sheep, so that the girls could have a good meal and be happy. They slaughtered it, roasted and ate it, concluding the meal with a dance and merry-making in the bush. After that, they went to the cave one by one, bringing out a handful of white earth. When Wamwero went in, they closed the entrance with a big stone and ran away. The hyena came the following day; but the stone was so heavy that it gave up trying to reach the girl.

When the girls arrived home, the mother of Wamwero asked : "Where did you leave my daughter ?"

"We do not know where she is", they answered.

"Have you not been at Moirore's for your teeth ?"

"Yes, but we do not know where she went after that."

It was understood among the girls that they should pay a visit to the cave, to see if she was still alive or dead. So every day one of them was

[1] Sagana is a big river which has its source in Mt. Kenya, and flows from West to East through the Kikuyu region. The majority of the Kikuyu rivers are tributaries of this river, which in the lower part of its course takes the name of Tana. It flows through Tanaland, and enters the Indian Ocean at Kipini a little south of Lamu.

[2] Before the European occupation, the Akikuyu evolved a type of bridge, very primitive, but sufficient to cope with their necessities. They used to fell a long tree across the river. By hewing the upper surface when in position, they reduced it to a flat path, over which, being barefoot, they passed very easily. Another type of suspended bridge was provided by the stretching and plaiting of lianas and different twining plants between two strong trees on opposite banks of the river. The result was a long basket suspended over the water, by means of which the Akikuyu passed safely with their sheep and goats.

there singing : "Eh Wamwero, eh ! I come to see if you are still alive ... eh Wamwero, eh !" The enclosed girl, for her part, answered in a weeping tone : "Oh my dear mother, I am still alive, and will be alive for many days more." The cruel play went on for many days, until one day a brother of Wamwero, a small boy, heard some rumour about his sister, and decided to follow the girls to the cave. He heard the song from the outside, and the answer from the inside of the cave. He discovered the whole trick, and hasted to report to his parents what he had seen and heard at the cave. The parents didn't believe him and, more than that, they rebuked him for his impertinence and imbecility.

The boy went for the second time to the cave, and saw and heard exactly the same thing as the day before. He reported again to his parents, who began to doubt and listen to the boy. After some discussion, the mother and father decided to follow the boy to the cave, and see for themselves what was going on down there at the hill.

When they arrived to the spot, the boy started to sing as the girls used to do, and Wamwero answered from the inside, as she used to answer the girls. On hearing her voice, the mother said : "There is no doubt, this is our daughter." They set to work, and rolled away the big stone which blocked the entrance to the cave, and called the girl to come out. The girl said : "I have no clothes. I ate them[1] all to the last bit." The father then threw in an old blanket, and the girl came out. Poor wretch ! She was thin, emaciated and very weak. They brought her home. All were moved with compassion. They gave her plenty of food and meat to eat, butter to anoint her body, and warm clothes. After two weeks the girl was again fit as ever, charming as before, with all the glamour of her supple complexion.

Time passed, and the girls treated the bad trick as a joke, laughing heartily every time they mentioned it. The father, however, did not forget the treacherous action of those girls.

One day he told Wamwero to invite the girls to a treat. The girls came in gay mood, and the father received them with great kindness and hospitality. They had food of every kind, and meat and gruel. After the treat the girls started to dance and make merry. In the meantime the father had prepared a concoction made of several different herbs, which he had collected in the forest during the full moon. When the girls were tired and perspiring after the prolonged dance, the father of Wamwero invited the girls to a drink of sugar-cane beer. He mixed his concoction with the beer, and gave to the girls the beverage so prepared. The girls, being very thirsty, drank long draughts of beer until all of them were half intoxicated. Amid laughs, joking and fun making they left the house of Wamwero at sunset, making for their homes. But alas ! something happened and that very unpleasant too. They had hardly reached the main path, when one after another they were changed into different kinds of wild beasts, and disappeared in all directions into the bush. *Wekanire angekwo ne oru ?* After all who was to be blamed ?

[1] It appears incomprehensible how a girl could eat her clothes. Girls and women in the old days used to wear clothes made of ox or sheep skin worked and softened with ochre mixed with castor oil.

20. THE TALKING CALF

There was a well-to-do man, called Goko, who married a girl of poor circumstances. He built a beautiful hut for her before his marriage was solemnized. They dwelt in it for some time and spent happy days without any quarrel and in pleasant company.

One day the girl began to be a little reserved, less talkative and even taciturn. The husband did not take it very seriously, attributing it to the usual crisis of home-sickness, so natural to young people. In fact the girl one day asked leave to go home for a short holiday, to spend a week with her parents. Goko did not object at all, and the young lady left the new home for her father's house. Strangely enough, when she left her hut, a calf followed her like a dog, and went to stay at the father's house as a second guest. She had a long talk with her parents, and finally her father said : "Your husband Goko is a very rich man,

but what is the use of his having such great riches ? Suppose we get rid of him in some way or other, couldn't we inherit[1] all his possessions." "I think so," the girl answered, but what are you going to do with him ?"

"Here in this gourd are two very poisonous vipers. You go with them and put them at the entrance to his stable ; conceal them under some grass, so that when he enters his stable, he will be bitten by them and consequently die."

The girl did as she was told by her father. When she left her father's house, the mysterious calf followed her again on her way back. When she arrived at a cross-road, the calf asked the girl : "Which way do you go ? the one of the sheep, or the one of the cattle ?" The girl was shocked on hearing the calf talk. After a little while she answered : "I choose the way of the sheep." The calf was anxious to report to the girl's husband what he had heard. He took the other way, and ran as fast as he could, in order to forestall the girl. When he arrived, he shouted out : "Goko, Goko, I have something to tell you very urgently. Will you suspend your milking, or shall I wait until you have finished ?" Goko answered : "I am just milking Gecero and Gatwaga ; the others will be milked by the daughter of Wathii." The calf said : "There is great danger lurking around."

"What is that ?"

"Your young wife is coming with two very dangerous vipers. She was told by her father to bring them here, and put them at the threshold of your stable so that you might tread on them when entering the stable and consequently die, leaving to them all your possessions."

"What shall I do to avoid disaster ?"

"You do this : You must mount your big bull Gecero when passing through the door, and the snakes will be killed by the bull."

Gecero was a very heavy bull in fact. It passed calmly through the door, trod on the snakes which were concealed under the grass, and killed them just like worms.

A few days after, the girl returned to her father and reported what had happened to the snakes. The father thought then of something else more drastic. He took a gourd of gruel, which his wife had prepared the previous day, and mixed in it a pinch of black powder highly poisonous, quite enough to kill a man. He gave it to the girl instructing her what to do with it. When she arrived at the cross-road, the calf asked her again : "Which way do you go ? the one of the sheep or the one of the cattle ?" "That of the cattle", answered the girl. The calf took the way of the sheep, and, running very fast, arrived home before the girl. He again reported to Goko what he had heard at his wife's home, warning him not to drink a single drop of the gruel the girl was going to offer him, because it was poisoned. So the wicked plan failed for the second time. Goko however was rather upset about the change that had taken place in his young wife. His life was now in great danger ; his home was not safe any more. He decided to leave the place with his herd of cattle and his friend the calf, called Gachao. They left unnoticed one night, and went a long way for several days. They passed through a place where lick salt was in abundance. They rested there for some days, and decided to drink some blood. They wanted the blood of Gecero, the biggest bull of the herd, by means of shooting a small arrow into one of the superficial veins of the neck. But Gecero was not there. He had gone astray somewhere.

"Well," said Gachao, "I will go back and fetch it."

"But you will be seen by our enemies and killed," Goko said.

"Oh no, I am sure I'll return safe with Gecero. You go on with the whole herd. But be careful ; never travel behind the cattle ; stay in front and lead the way." So they separated, Gachao going

[1] The inheritance mentioned here is inexplicable according to native law and customs unless we suppose that absolutely no relative survived the husband. The bridegroom paid the bride's father a certain amount of live-stock as a dowry for his wife. The father cannot have the girl and at the same time have the live-stock which was paid for the girl's dowry. A second explanation perhaps could be deduced from the very old tradition which admits that in the beginning the tribe was ruled on the matriarchal principle. In that case the right of possession and inheritance would be completely reversed from that in existence at present time.

back, and Goko moving forward with the herd.

Goko was a man of fixed ideas, and nobody could persuade him to change an opinion when he had got one in his head. He put the warning of Gachao in question and said : "Why should I precede the herd and lead the way ? I think it is wiser to follow the herd, so that no animal is left to itself, to go astray like Gecero." So he went to the rear, and whistling, pushed on the cattle, whipping the animals here and there. The country he passed through was very very dry, and the trampling of the animals caused a cloud of dust to rise in the air. It grew thicker and thicker, until poor Goko was choked and could not breathe any more. He had a few fits of coughing, and fell to the ground. After a few minutes of terrible panting, he was dead. The cattle stopped, unconscious of the disaster.

In the meantime Gachao had reached the village. He saw Gecero grazing in a meadow alone. He went to him, brought him to the main road, and proceeded on, with the intention of reaching the herd as quickly as possible. But the wife of Goko was there, and gave the alarm shouting out: "The thief! The thief is there! Look there!" In a moment Gachao was chased by the villagers, who ran fast to catch him. Gachao began to open his bowels, and in an instant a big hill rose behind him and gave him time to flee away. The villagers climbed the hill and were soon again at his heels. Then he urinated, and an enormous lake was formed. The villagers swam across it, but it took a long time to cross it, and when they reached the other side, Gachao was out of sight and safe. He continued to go on very fast until he reached the herd. But to his great sorrow he found that Goko was dead, although the cattle were still there. He was very grieved ; but after all the fault was Goko's because he had refused to follow his warnings. He gathered the animals into one herd and went on.

On his way he met a gazelle which asked him : "Do all these cattle belong to you ?" "Yes," Gachao answered, "I swallowed nine men, and out came this flock of cattle. I can swallow you too and you will become an ox if you like." The gazelle got frightened and ran away. Gachao went still further, and met a man called Wakango. The man was surprised at the size of the herd and asked : "Who is the owner of all these ?" "I am the owner", answered Gachao, "why are you so surprised ? I swallowed nine men, and out came these animals. I can swallow you as well, if you like, and you will become an ox."

"What ? swallow me and change me into an ox ?"

"Yes, exactly what I said."

"How can it be ?"

"Do you want to try ?"

"Well . . . yes, let us see if it is true or just bluff and boasting."

Gachao seized him, swallowed him ; and from the rear end, an ox was dropped on the grass. Gachao licked it three times, and the ox was changed again into a man. It was Getanga himself. He stood before Gachao and said : "Thank you for the experience ; you are really great, and the most powerful among the Kikuyu witch-doctors ; you are a wizard ! But you must get very tired looking after all these cattle. I think I could help you a lot if you agree to my proposal."

"What is it ?"

"Let us divide the flock into two equal parts ; one part will be yours, and the other will be mine. In return I will be the shepherd and caretaker responsible for the whole herd, so that you may be free from every drudgery, and enjoy your life better."

"I do not dislike your proposal," said Gachao. At that moment all the cows lay down on the grass for a rest, and all the bulls started jumping and leaping in the air, making fun and sham fighting. Gachao asked Getanga : "Which do you choose, the ones resting on the grass or those standing ?" Getanga said : "I choose those standing." They were all bulls, and so more showy and bulky. This matter settled, Getanga asked Gachao : "What is your name ?" "My name", answered Gachao, "is Wamaro. And what is yours ?" Getanga answered : "My name is Wakango." So both changed their names into new ones.

Time passed, and the cows of Wamaro gave birth to several calves. Wakango was puzzled and asked : "Why is it that my cattle do not give birth to any calf ?" One day he stole a calf from

the herd of Wamaro. He had taken care to take away the placenta also, which he stiched to the tail of a bull. He went to Wamaro and said : "Good news to day, my dear Wamaro. I had a birth in my herd this very morning." "Very good," said Wamaro, "so keep the calf near the mother, and see that it sucks some milk." "Wakango did so, but the bull refused the calf and chased it away with a kick. Then Wamaro said : "That is not the mother of the calf. I never saw a little one refused by its mother. The calf belongs to the cow which is over there. Besides that, nobody stitches the placenta to the tail of a cow. Usually it is thrown away and buried." "I didn't stitch it ; but straw and litter caused it to be plastered to the tail." Wamaro didn't accept the explanation. They started a quarrel, insulting each other, and threatening to end the dispute with a fight. Luckily Wamaro was more clever than Wakango, and said : "We will never end our dispute by ourselves. Let us call the elders of the village and put our case entirely in their hands ; they will settle it for us."

So Wamaro called six elders from his relations, and Wakango did the same. Both groups had a preliminary meeting before the common debate, preparing the defence of their case. Wamaro instructed his elders thus : "When the other part will ask us : 'From where did you start your quarrel ?' you all must answer : 'From the quarry at the bottom of the valley, where you found us peeling the stones.' And if they ask us : 'How can the stones be peeled ?' " we will answer : 'How can a bull give birth to a calf ?" They all agreed, praising the acuteness of mind of Wamaro.

In the afternoon the debate took place, and, as was foreseen, the elders of Wakango asked the counterpart : "From where did you start your quarrel ?"

"From the quarry at the bottom of the valley, where you found us peeling the stones." Wamaro's party said :

"But how can the stones be peeled ?"

"Well, we put you a similar question. How can a bull give birth to a calf ?"

Then Wakango's elders kept silent and set themselves thinking hard, but no answer was to be found to that question. They were defeated and Wamaro won the case.

After that Wamaro realized that Wakango was not a good partner, and it would be wiser to get rid of him..

One day he told Wakango : "To-day you will graze the cattle alone. I am going to make arrangements for the slaughtering of the big bull Gecero. To-morrow we will eat the meat, and you will have a good portion of white fat." Getanga agreed willingly. In fact the bull was slaughtered. The following day Wamaro put a small stone in the fire and left it in the ember until it was red hot. Then he wrapped it in a good morsel of meat and when Getanga came for the feast, he told him : "Welcome, my friend, sit down and I have a selected morsel of meat for a good start of our feast. Open your mouth and I will put the meat with some white fat into it. It tastes better." Wakango received the meat in his mouth, and swallowed it with great greediness, without chewing at all. After a little while he felt a terrible burning in his stomach, causing him much pain. He lay on the grass rolling and groaning in great pain. "Oh ! I am burning, I am burning ! some water, please !" he said entreatingly. "Yes," said Wamaro, "here is the water, open your mouth." He poured into his mouth a cup of very hot broth, and the poor Wakango died.

After a little while a hyena, attracted by the smell of the roasted meat, came out of the bush. It approached Wamaro and begged for some bones. Wamaro gave it plenty of them, and the hyena started a good meal, crushing the bones very easily, swallowing them like water. In the meantime, Wamaro fastened the tail of the hyena to a leg of the corpse of poor Wakango. When all was ready, he told the hyena : "Now you have got enough, get away !" So saying, he raised a big stick threatening the beast in case of refusal. The hyena went off. Wamaro followed it with more threats and shoutings. The hyena, in a terrible fright, ran away quickly, dragging after it the corpse of Wakango.

Wamaro continued to enjoy his feast undisturbed with plenty of meat, and never agreed to

share again his property with other people on any condition whatsoever. He lived many years happily and very rich, respected and feared by all the villagers around.

21. THE LEOPARD AND THE HARE

Once upon a time a hare went to the prairie to collect white mushrooms,[1] which usually grow on those rolling lands. When it thought it had enough of them for itself and its family, it arranged them in a nice bundle of banana leaves, adjusted it on its back, and made for home.

On its way home it met a hyena, which stared it in the face and asked : "From where did you get all that meat ?"

"Just there, beyond that thicket."

"Please, come and show me the place, so that I may have some too ; I am terribly hungry."

"Come along, I'll show you."

They took a path which led to the very top of a high hill. When they arrived nearly half-way, the hare said : "My dear friend, the path is very steep, and I see that you are growing tired. You are slowing down your pace, and your tongue is hanging out, red and dripping like the morning dew. You had better lie down here on the soft grass until I return with a good supply of meat for you. I shan't be long. Meanwhile open your mouth, and I will throw in some pieces from my collection, just to ease your hunger." The hyena sat down, closed its eyes and opened wide its mouth, waiting for the meat to come. The hare then bolted swiftly, and by long strides went uphill, right to a outcrop of the hill where there were many big loose stones. It chose a very big one, and pushing it forward with great effort, rolled it down in the direction of the hyena. The stone went down with terrific speed and a great noise. The hyena thought it was the hare rushing at it with a good lump of meat, and so didn't open its eyes, but remained still, waiting. In a moment the stone reached it with all its weight and speed, and the lurid beast went to pieces.

"Good," said the hare, still perched on the upper stones of the hill, "one less ! I'll finish you all one at a time in this way."

The hare returned to its path with the intention of going home as quickly as possible. It was so glad of its success that now and then it stopped to dance for a little while. It was already approaching its home, when suddenly it was met by a leopard. It stopped immediately and, half terrified, exchanged some humble greetings with the big cat. The leopard asked : "Where did you get all that meat from ?"

"Well, master, not very far from here, just over yonder", said the hare, pointing to a small thicket.

"Show me the exact place. I think I must have some for myself and my family."

"Come along, master leopard. I will show you every thing."

The cunning hare thought to play the same trick on the leopard as it had on the hyena. They went down-hill to a grassy spot, just below a jutting rock, half covered with bush and high grass. The hare said : "Master, you must be very tired ; lie down here for a little while on the soft grass. I am going up there to get some meat for you, so that you may feel strong and vigorous to continue the journey to where the meat is to be found." The leopard did not object, and lay down. Soon it began to doze and sleep. The hare ran quickly to the rocky lodge. A very big stone was just on the edge of the promontory. It started to push it, and pushed with all the strength at its command, until the stone began to roll down with a terrible noise and fantastic speed. On hearing the noise the leopard looked up and, seeing the approaching danger, jumped quickly on one side and escaped sure death. The leopard was rather puzzled at the happening, and set itself thinking. "Yes," it said, "this must be a trick played on me by the hare. I know too well, it hates me, and would like to see me dead. Poor little thing, not yet ; but you will die very soon ; yes, this very day."

[1] Mushrooms are a common feature in the Kikuyu country during the rainy seasons. The small white mushrooms appear very abundantly during the long wet season, April–May. During the short season fairly big brownish mushrooms appear in the plains and woods of the country. The latter is edible and is as good as the European species. The Akikuyu never eat mushrooms, and even now they do not regard mushrooms as food.

So the leopard decided to deceive the hare in its own way. It pretended to be dead, and lay down on the grass, lying still like a corpse. The hare had several cautious looks at it from the upper part of the hill and, believing it to be dead, descended the path and in a few hops was near the leopard, congratulating itself on its success. It grew so bold as to jump on the body of the leopard and began to dance merrily on the soft back of the beast. Suddenly the leopard jumped up on its four legs, and snatched at the hare, but missed it. Imagine the shock of the hare ! It ran away in a terrible fright, the leopard chasing at its heels. They ran and ran for a long time, until the hare, seeing a hole on the side of the hill, rushed into it ; but the leopard was just in time to catch its tail, before the hare entered the hole completely. It pinched it as fast as it could, but the hare grappled firmly to the roots inside the hole and held on for dear life. The tension lasted for some time, until the hare said : "You foolish leopard, you think to hold my tail with your teeth, don't you see that you are biting a root ?" The leopard felt ashamed and let the tail go, believing that it was really only a root. The hare feeling itself free, swiftly penetrated deep into the hole, and baffled the poor leopard.

The leopard was very angry at that second defeat, and swore in its heart not to take food until it saw the rascal dead. Calmly it sat near the hole, waiting until the hare should come out for food or water. It waited for hours and hours, but nothing happened. The hare was on the alert too; it was very safe where it was; it never thought of coming out to the open. Finally the leopard felt hungry. It was just thinking of giving up watching, and going a hunting, when it saw a crow coming that way. The crow asked : "My friend leopard, what are you doing here ?"

"I am just waiting for a dirty creature which entered this hole to come out, but now I am very hungry ; I think I must go to fetch some food in the jungle. Would you, please, stay here for a while, and keep an eye on this hole, and see if someone comes out ? I'll be back soon. I shan't be long."

"Surely," said the crow, "I'll watch for you ; only don't be too long, please."

The hare listened to the conversation from within, and when it was sure that the leopard was off, it came forth peeping from the aperture and said : "You stupid crow, don't you remember what you have been told by the leopard ? You must open wide your eyes and look steadily at the hole, so that you may see me when I decide to go out." The crow took its words seriously, and raising itself in front of the hole, stared in the aperture, fixing its eyes on the darkness. The hare thought the time was ripe for a new trick. It began to scratch the floor with its paws, throwing the earth violently into the eyes of the poor crow, which in a few moments was nearly blind, and ran away into the grass, rubbing its eyes furiously against its plumage. In the meantime the hare came out unseen and disappeared into the bush.

After some time the leopard returned to the hole and found the crow still rubbing its eyes and cursing the wicked hare.

"What happened," asked the leopard, "did the hare come out ?"

"Yes, it did. It threw a mountain of earth in my eyes, and I ran away. I am blind, dear leopard."

The leopard remained silent for a while, and then said : "We are defeated, my friend ; but don't worry, sooner or later the wicked hare will fall into my teeth. It must die ! It must !" And in so saying they separated each going its own way.

(To be concluded)

KOM DIE ZOELOE I(LI)HHASHI UIT ENGELS?

G. S. NIENABER

OPSOMMING

Doke en Vilikazi se Zoeloe-Engelse Woordeboek, *'n baie waardevolle standaardwerk, vereis egter hersiening ten opsigte van die etimologie van sommige woorde wat uit Engels of Afrikaans stam.* I(li)hhashi, *byvoorbeeld, is nie af te lei uit Engels:* horse *nie (algemeen aanvaar sedert Döhne dit voorgestel het), aangesien die woord reeds voorkom in Von Winckelmann se beskrywinge van sy reise in die oostelike Kaapprovinsie in 1788–9. Von Winckelmann sê dat skape en perde vir die Bantoe onbekende begrippe was voor hulle aanraking met die Hottentotte. Aangesien Engelse invloed eers* na *hierdie datum met die koms van die Sendelinge aangeneem moet word, moet 'n ander afleiding van hierdie woorde in die Ngoenie-groep gesoek word. In 'n minder bekende (of tot dusver onbekende) bydrae van dr. H. Lichtenstein, wat in 1808 uitgegee is (wat 'n herdruk verdien en wat deur die skrywer hiervan in die Britse Museum gefotokopieer is), word 'n goeie relaas gegee van die eerste ontmoeting van Bantoe en Hottentotte, en die taalkundige invloed word verduidelik. Die Hottentotse woord vir* perd *is* has (*vr.*) *en* hab (*ml.*); *vir* skaap, gus *en* gub. *Hierdie woord vir perd word in die leksikologiese lyste van Dapper, Ten Rhyne en ander in die tweede helfte van die 17de eeu aangetref. Die skrywer hiervan meen dat die oorsprong van* i(li)hhashi *en* i(li)guʃa *in hierdie Hottentotse woorde gesoek moet word, soos Appleyard, Bleek e.a. trouens voorgestel het.*

In die woordeboek van dr. C.M. Doke en dr. B.W. Vilakazi (*Zulu-English Dictionary*, Witwatersrand University Press : 1949, die herdruk) word by *i(li)hhashi* aangegee dat die woord uit Engels kom. Ek meen dat daar te veel bewyse voorhande is dat die skrywers op onwetenskaplike wyse, miskien op grond van onvoldoende kennis van Afrikaans en van die geskiedenis van sommige woorde, 'n sprong waag as hulle die herkoms van die woorde terugvoer op een van die twee offisiële tale. Soms moes hulle op grond van klankwettige oorwegings reeds gemerk het dat baie van die woorde eerder op Afrikaans as op Engels teruggaan. Dit is egter 'n aspek waarop ek miskien in 'n later artikel wil terugkom, en dan sal ek ook die studie van Cooksey uit dieselfde skool daarby betrek en op dieselfde gebrek aan kritiese sin wys.

Nou wil ek my net bepaal by wat as kopstuk hierbo aangegee is.

Hierdie woordeboek is ongetwyfeld die standaardwerk op sy gebied en hy sal wel lank die vernaamste vraagbaak bly. Ons wil hom van harte verwelkom. Daarom word met die beste bedoelings op die een opvallende gebrek gewys: 'n onwetenskaplike gladdigheid soms as daar sprake van ontlenings is. Die samestellers moet bewus wees hoe omstrede hulle afleiding van hierdie woord is, en tensy dit al finaal uitgemaak is dat *horse* ten grondslag aan *i(li)hhashi* lê, dan verwag 'n mens op sy allerminste dat hulle daar 'n vraagteken by moet stel. Andersins word 'n standaardwerk ontsier, wat heeltemal onnodig is, aangesien ons hier met 'n ondergeskikte punt te doen het. Ek gee dit in 'n gees van welwillendheid (en nie uit vitterigheid nie) in ernstige oorweging dat by 'n eventuele herdruk van hierdie uitstekende woordeboek meer aandag aan die genoemde tekortkoming bestee word.

In hierdie kort artikel wil ek die een en ander noem hoekom die afleiding van *i(li)hhashi* in elk geval nie van *horse* is nie, en m.i. uit Hottentots kom. As hierdie argumente nie oortuig nie, kan

dit kenners miskien prikkel om na die waarheid te help soek.

Eers oor die punt of *horse* die basis kan vorm. Toe die „Juffrouw Maria" in Augustus 1788 in Baai Formosa (Plettenbergsbaai) gestrand het, het die regering 'n kommissie daarheen gestuur, om die vrag te red, en op sy eie versoek is Freiherr von Winckelmann van die Wurttembergse regiment saam. Daar aangekom, wou Von Winckelmann ook die sogenoemde „Kafferland" binnegaan, en op 8 Des. 1788 tot die begin van 1789 is hy met 'n kolonistegroep op reis ook in hierdie gebied, waarvan hy ons 'n goeie beskrywing gee, gedeeltelik oorgedruk in *Reizen uit Zuid-Afrika IV* van Godée Molsbergen (Den Haag, 1932). Nadat hy ons oor die rundvee van die naturelle ingelig het, voeg hy by : „Sie haben weder Schaafe noch Pferde, und daher auch keine ursprünglichen Worte dafür in ihrer Sprache. Der Anblick der Pferde der Bauren brachte sie auf die Erfindung eines Wortes ; daher geben sie denselben auch jetzt die Benennung von Illihashe" (bl. 74).

Van belang is die feit dat dié woord vir 'n perd reeds in 1788–89 in Xhosa bestaan het, dus voordat daar sprake van so 'n intieme aanraking met Engels was dat dit daaruit geleen kon word. Hierdie historiese feit kom my voor as deurslaggewend. Dit bring ook aan die lig hoe belangrik datering is om in sulke gevalle 'n juiste insig te verkry.

As *i(li)hhashi* 'n leenwoord is, dan bly die vraag oor : waaruit, indien nie uit Engels nie ? Uit Afrikaans kan dit nie kom nie. Volgens A. Mabille & H. Dieterlen (*Sesuto-English Dictionary*, Morija : 1924, 5 dr.) het Sesoeto wel 'n *pèrè* wat aan dié bron ontleen is, maar *i(li)hhashi* het daar duidelik hoegenaamd niks mee te doen nie.

Verskeie persone het reeds aan Hottentots gedink. Die Wesleyaanse sendeling eerw. John W. Appleyard, wie se boek *The Kafir Language* (King William's Town) in 1850 verskyn het, beweer dit direk „*Haas* and *kus* are the words from which the Kafirs have derived their *ihashe*, horse, and *igusha* sheep" (bl. 19 vn.). Op bl. 44 sê hy Xhosa „contains several words of Hottentot extraction," waarop o.a. dr. W. Bleek wys in 'n deel van sy „Researches into the relation between the Hottentots and Kafirs", verskene in *Cape Town Monthly Magazine* van April 1857. Ook hy meen dat *ihashe* en *igusha* van Hottentotse oorsprong is. Hierteen polemiseer eerw. J. L. Döhne van die Amerikaanse sendinggenootskap in die Voorwoord tot sy *A Zulu-Kafir Dictionary* (Kaapstad : 1857). Die Voorwoord is in November 1857 geskrywe, die artikel van Bleek in April. Eerw. Döhne sê o.m. „During a time of upwards of ten years I never heard a Kafir even hint that derivation (verstaan : uit Hottentots); on the contrary, I have had frequent opportunity of observing what stress they lay upon *ihashe* as having been derived by them from the English name "horse". Children as well as old people pronounce "horse" invariably *hashe*, eliding *r* before another consonant according to their sonant law. And the same testimony I have heard others give who had practical experience among the Kafir tribes. Experience must therefore have the preference before theories" (bl. xxxvi).

Eerw. Döhne se argument is, met die beste wil, baie skraal. Hy baseer dit op die „experience" wat in hierdie geval die Bantoe se ongemotiveerde (N. B.) opinie is. Maar dan moet ook toegegee word dat Döhne self dit volgens die klankooreenkomste verantwoord ; as hy egter die dateringsfeit geken het, sou hy ongetwyfeld met minder stelligheid sy standpunt verdedig het.

As hy eerw. Döhne se boek geken het, dan strek dit eerw. W. J. Davis tot eer dat hy deur die dunheid van die bewysvoering kon sien en in sy *A Dictionary of the Kaffir Language* (London : 1872) Döhne nie nagepraat het nie, nes daarna byna almal trouens gedoen het, en wel soos ons gesien het, tot in die allerjongste tyd.

Daar is nog geen enkele geldige *taalkundige* beswaar teen die afleiding uit Hottentots ingebring nie. Daarteenoor staan die feit dat dit hom letterlik aan ons opdring.

Die geskiedenis vertel ons hoe daar 'n vereniging tussen die oostelike Bantoe en die aangrensende Hottentotte plaasgevind het. Hierdie feite is oorbekend. Die Hottentotstam wat die eerste „skok" opgevang het, was die Gonêkwas. Van hulle kry ons verskeie beskrywings, een

waarvan die liriese en romantiese beriggewing van die Fransman Le Vaillant is, die kenner van die voëllewe en die vrouehart, die idilliese besinger en tekenaar van die Hottentotskone Narina. By die gegewens deur ons vooraanstaande geskiedkundiges en deur reisbeskrywers verstrek, voeg ek 'n stukkie uit 'n m.w. nog ongebruikte bron, nl. van Lichtenstein. Hierdie lyfarts van goewerneur Janssens en gunstig-bekende natuurkundige het ook 'n lewendige belangstelling vir inboorlingtale gehad. Brokkies het hy ons in sy reisverhaal meegedeel, 'n reisverhaal wat in die Engelse vertaling van Plumptre in die Van-Riebeeck-Vereniging se reeks as nommers 10 en 11 uitgegee is. Hy het verder 'n „Abhandlung über die Beetjuanen" in die Mei-aflewering van 1807 se *Allgemeine Geographische Ephemeriden* laat verskyn, 'n bydrae wat ek nie kon raadpleeg nie. Wel besit ek 'n fotoskopie van sy ander baie belangrike artikel van by 'n 70 bladsye, t.w. sy „Bemerkungen über die Sprachen der südafrikanischen wilden Völkerstämme", uitgegee in Bertuch und Vater se *Allgemeines Archiv für Ethnografie und Linguistik* (*Weimar :* 1808).

Die twee verwysings volg nou : „Ebenfalls sprechen die Gonaaqua-Hottentotten im Osten der Colonie noch einen eigenen Dialect, in dem aber sehr häufig Kaffersche Wörter vorkommen, so wie überhaupt dieser ganze Stamm Vieles, auch in äusserer Bildung, mit diesen seinen Nachbarn gemein hat" (bl. 287). [Dit wys op die ondertrouing of verbastering, en op wedersydse taalbeïnvloeding.] Verder : „Nur die östlichen Kaffern an den Gränzen der Capcolonie, die, wie schon ohen erinnert, mit den Gonnaqua Hottentotten seit längerer Zeit in freundschaftlichem Verkehr gestanden zu haben scheinen, haben dieses Schnalzen in solchen Worten beibehalten, die aus der Sprache ihrer Nachbaren in die ihrige übertragen sind" (bl. 293). [Interessant is ook dat, volgens dr. H. Lichtenstein, die woord *Xhosa* van Hottentotse oorsprong is. Hy besluit om hom aan die term „Kaffer" te hou, maar voeg by : „Ich werde diese, deren wahrer Name Kaussi, eigentlich Hottentottischen Ursprungs, und sowohl beï ihnen selbst, als bei den Schriftstellern, eben nicht gebräuchlich ist, in der Folge nach dem bisherigen Sprachgebrauch schlechthin *Kaffern* nennen ..." (291 voetnoot). Dit was vir my nuus dat die Xhosas self nie dié naam vir hulle gebruik het nie, altans nie teen 1805 toe Lichtenstein hier was en hulle ondervra het nie.] Lichtenstein het „alle meine Reisen zusammen gerechnet, beinahe zwei Jahre im Inneren der Colonie und unter den benachbarten Wilden" deurgebring ; gevolglik is hy wat hom doelbewus op die studie van hulle tale toegelê het en dit beskryf het, uit hierdie tyd (1803–06) bevoeg soos waarskynlik niemand anders nie, behalwe miskien die kolonis Kok, om 'n gesaghebbende opinie uit te spreek.

Hierdie studie bevat ook 'n lys van vergelykende woorde vir dieselfde begrip ; hy noem dit : „Wörterverzeichnis zur Vergleichung der südafrikanischen Sprachen." By „*Pferd* (Zahmes)" lees ons :

Cor. (Coranna)	Hacqua.
	Hengst t² kárahaap.
	Stute has.
	Wallach hap.
Bosj.	haa.
Kaff.	Haassi.
Beetj.	P'heetsi. (bl. 310).

Ons kan die geskiedenis van die Hottentotse naam vir 'n perd vervolg van Dapper en Wreede se tyd af. Die woord in Krönlein se tyd en onder die Nama bly nagenoeg dieselfde.

Wat vir ons saak is, is die feite dat :

(1) Die Xhosas nie „van huis uit" bekend was met perde en skape nie, sodat hulle, ditsy deur nuutskepping, ditsy deur omskepping van 'n bestaande term, ditsy deur ontlening daarvan, sou moes voorsien in die behoefte van 'n benaming toe dit vir hulle aktuele begrippe geword het ;

(2) Die woord *i(li)hhashi* in 1788–89 al onder hulle bekend was (voor aanraking met Engelse moontlik was) ;

(3) Die Xhosas met die oostelike Hottentotstamme in intieme omgang verkeer het, met name met die Gonêkwa, en baie woorde van die Hottentotte oorgeneem het, insluitende die rasnaam

Xhosas, ja, selfs die klapgeluide vir hulle saam met baie ontleninge toegeëien het ;

(4) Die Hottentotte inderdaad wel woorde vir *perde* en *skape* gehad het, t.w. *haap* (manlike uitgang *p*) en *haas* (*s* is vroulike uitgang), dus : *haa* plus uitgang, en *gub* (manlik) of *gus* (vroulik), of *gu* plus uitgang ;[1]

(5) Die taal van die Xhosas *dieselfde* stamme het wat net verbantoeseer is, *i(li)hafe* en *igufa*, d.w.s. diesefde woord wat net verryk is met die klasprefiks en die suffiks van vreemde woorde. Wat betref laasgenoemde opmerking, haal ek aan uit W.G. Bennie (*A Grammar for the Xhosa Speaking :* 1939) : „In the earlier days of mission work, an ending *-isha* was much used in turning English or Dutch verbs into Xhosa" (bl. 150). Ek weet nie of dit ook op snw. betrekking het nie ; in elk geval sal Hottentotse ontlenings aanvanklik wel as vreemde woorde aangevoel gewees het.

My slotsom is, vir sover ons die toestande teen 1800 kan beoordeel, dat Hottentots inderdaad die grondslag vorm van *i(li)hhashi* en *i(li)-gufa* in die Ngoeniegroep, en dat *i(li)hhashi* gevolglik nie uit Engels kom nie.

[1] In 'n briefwisseling oor hierdie woord skryf prof. Nienaber o.a. as volg : „U vra of die Hottentotse *hab* en *has* nie op Engels *horse* deur die Engelse sendelinge teruggevoer kan word nie, maar ek glo nie dit is moontlik nie, omdat die Engelse sendelinge eers na 1795 hulle invloed kon laat geld het, en die Hottentotse woord kom ons al teen in die woordelyste van Wreede, Ten Rhyne e.a. uit die sewentiende eeu. Vir die Hottentotte was die perd oorspronklik ook 'n vreemde begrip, en of Harry, die Strandloperkaptein uit Van Riebeeck se tyde iemand wat in die Ooste was en 'n bietjie Engels geken het, dit moontlik uit *horse* kon aangepas het, is 'n saak wat ek nie in staat is om uit te maak nie." [Red.]

BOOK IN REVIEW

The Lozi Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia.
V.W. Turner. West Central Africa, Part III of the Ethnographic Survey of Africa. (International African Inst. : 1952.) 62 pp., map, 7/6.

This is an outline compilation from published material and naturally lacks the mark of first-hand research among the people. A most important contribution to the facts recorded is gleaned from the field research of Professor Max Gluckman, particularly in regard to the social and political structure of the people. Of great interest is the relationship between the King and the Ngambela, "the King's chief adviser, executive and judge", who "rules for the king." "The king, for the Lozi, is the land, the Ngambela the commonality ; together they exercise kingship. It is the duty of the Ngambela to protect the nation against the King, and of the King to protect it against the Ngambela and commoner councillors" (p. 37). It is pointed out that in Barotseland Christianity has not disrupted the indigenous political systems to the extent that is often the case among primitive African communities. At times there is not sufficient clearness of differentiation made when recording customs between what used to be, and what obtains to-day under the Northern Rhodesian administration ; particularly is this the case when recording Holub's observations (of 1879). A lot of change has taken place since then, and this is not made sufficiently clear.

Naturally there are large obvious gaps in the information given. The Life Cycle is very sketchy ; the Folk-lore and embryo literature are not dealt with ; and there must be very much more to be recorded regarding religious beliefs in the three fields of Theism, Spiritism and Dynamism. What is recorded is almost entirely from the Jalla brothers and Mlle. Kuntz. The author refers to inability to find reference in the literature to witchcraft ; this, of course, comes under the heading of *buloi*. There is considerable reference to witchcraft in Arnot's *Garenganze*, including a description of the boiling-pot ordeal (p. 66).

The publication serves the purpose of the series in placing most of the available material before those interested in specific areas or groups.

C.M.D.

CUSTOMARY LAW OF THE AKAN PEOPLES

A. N. ALLOTT

DR. JEFFREYS' review at length [1] of Madeline Manoukian's *Akan and Ga-Adangme Peoples of the Gold Coast* [2] has done a service in indicating possible sources of confusion or error in this work, and that it was a disappointment to those expecting great things of the Ethnographic Survey of Africa, (launched by the International African Institute), of which this pamphlet forms a part. Not all, however, of Dr. Jeffereys' strictures are themselves supportable ; and, moreover, it is possible to supply tentative answers to some of the questions which he asks.

1. *History of the Akan:* Dr. Jeffreys explains the culture of the present Akan peoples as a fusion (by no means complete) between two different peoples, "one, the indigenous, without law but operating through social sanctions ; and the other, the ruling group, with law, operating through kings and courts". This statement begs, or at least involves, the question of "what is law ?"; and it appears that Jeffreys and I may hold differing opinions of what is law outside the European context. This is considered more fully below.

Apart from this question, whilst it is true that Gold Coast history (and present investigation) lends colour to the thoery that two strains may be involved in the present Akan population and constitution, it is dubious how great an emphasis should be placed on this ; and it is especially doubtful whether one is justified in making such a sharp distinction between the laws and institutions of the two strains. It is my belief (and in the present state of historical knowledge it is impossible to have anything more) that the later imigrants had chiefs, but probably of far less authority than they now possess ; both to-day and formerly it is sometimes difficult to draw a rigid dividing-line between family-heads, village heads, and chiefs ; historically the last probably developed out of the former.

2. *Expulsion from the clan:* Jeffreys doubts Manoukian's statement [3] that "3. The Clan tie cannot be lost or broken except by expulsion from the clan." He is right to doubt, and right to ask what procedure would apply. I have not heard of such a thing as expulsion from the *clan*. There was a former method, mentioned in Sarbah,[4] for expulsion from a *family*:[5] this was called "cutting *ekal*", *ekal* being the Twi word *kahire* (head-pad). The word for "clan" and "family" is the same in Twi : *abusua ;* perhaps verbal confusion has arisen ? This practice is mentioned only for the Fante, and is in any case now in disuse.

3. *The Lineage-Head:* [6] In the Gold Coast, and in the literature generally, he is referred to as the "head of the family", the so-called "lineages" being correspondingly termed "families". Manoukian over-emphasizes, as I think, his position. She says : "Ownership of lineage land is vested in him . . ." — this is not so ; ownership of family land is vested in the family as a whole, though control and management is carried on by the head over the family land in the interests of the family, and he may represent the family in the courts when bringing or defending an action in regard to the family land. Similarly, it would be more correct to say that it is the family which is the arbiter in matters of marriage, divorce and succession, though the head — by virtue of his position — may play a leading role. Miss Manoukian repeats her error at p. 28 : "1. *Lineage property and rights*, e.g. usufruct of so-called 'family land', trees on such land . . .

[1] *Afr. Stud.*, March 1952, pp. 38–40.

[2] Published in the series "The Ethnographic Survey of Africa", issued by the International African Institute. (O.U.P.: 1950. 8/6.)

[3] MANOUKIAN, p. 23.

[4] In *Fanti Customary Laws*.

[5] MANOUKIAN's "lineage".

[6] See MANOUKIAN, p. 25.

Ownership of these is vested in the lineage head . . .", but this appears contradicted by her statement (p. 24, under "THE LINEAGE (*Abusua*)") that : "2. Public offices and land ownership are vested in the lineage."[1]

4. *Succession* :[2] I have already remarked that the statement of p. 28 under "*Lineage Property and rights*" is misleading. As for other intestate successors to males, I noted in my experience that the successors most frequently chosen were from the classes of uterine brothers, sister's sons, and first cousins in the female line ; and that these heavily outnumbered other classes of successors. The fact that the successor to a dead person is *chosen* by a family-meeting (that is, succession is not automatic as of right) should have been stressed.

5. *Divorce* :[3] The so-called "grounds for divorce" are rather reasons or motives for divorce, or reasons why the husband may recover the head-money or other payments which he has made. Divorce is not viewed by the Africans in a European light, where precise rules are necessary for the operation of legal mechanisms.

6. *Land-Tenure* :[4] Miss Manoukian does well to describe "the general position regarding land tenure in the Gold Coast at the present time" as "very confused". Her starting-point — the division of land into three "aspects" — is not a happy one, as it involves two material objects (the "land itself", and "crops, trees and houses"), and one conceptual right (the "use to which the soil may be put", or usufruct).

It is impossible to give a general account of Akan land tenure without taking into account the fundamentally different systems which apply in different areas and with different tribes ; for instance, in regard to the ownership of the absolute interest in the land (the "ownership of the soil or earth") there are very wide differences between the Ashanti and Fante systems : in some cases stools have a proprietary right in the land, in others no more than a jurisdictional right. Nor is it correct to say that the land held by sub-divisions of a state necessarily came to them by allocation from the Omanhene, since in many cases rights have come *up to* the Paramount Stool (by stools now subordinate swearing allegiance to the Paramount Stool "to serve the chief with their lands"), rather than *down* from the Paramount Stool, by the parcelling out of land owned by that stool. In regard to the alienation of stool-land, it should be noted that some states have forbidden the sale of stool-land outright (e.g. in Ashanti [5]).

It is most confusing to talk, as Miss Manoukian does,[6] of "individually owned land", when what is meant is the "individual ownership of usufruct". It is quite possible to-day for an individual to own an absolute interest in land, which he may have acquired either in a state where stools have only jurisdictional rights over the land, and the absolute interest is in the hands of families and individuals ; or by purchase from a land-owning stool. Such an interest is quite different from the dependent usufructuary interest which an individual can acquire by, for example, exercising his right as a subject of a stool owning unused land to take up a portion of that land for his own purposes by clearing and cultivating it.

The discussion of usufruct in "family land"[7] leaves some points unclear. The statement : "Portions of lineage land may be transferred to other lineages though never by alienation" is mystifying ; alienation is the term normally used to describe transfer of property, but if it is used here to mean "forms of outright transfer", then not only does it conflict with the statement below admitting the possibility of the sale or mortgage of family land, but it also conflicts with the well-established fact that a family acting as a whole may to-day freely alienate its interest in land, whether to another family or to an individual. The author appears to have confused the question of alienation (in the sense of outright transfer) with the practice by which an individual or another family "begs" for the use of some of the family land, without any question of transfer

[1] See also her statement at p. 49 that " 'Family land' is land vested in a matrilineage"
[2] MANOUKIAN, p. 28.
[3] MANOUKIAN, p. 33.
[4] MANOUKIAN, p. 47 *et seq.*
[5] By a decision of the Ashanti Confederacy Council.
[6] MANOUKIAN, pp. 49–50.
[7] MANOUKIAN, p. 49.

of title arising (all that is created is a tenancy at will) ; or, alternatively, she was intending to discuss the right of *members* of a family to alienate their interest in portions of the family land (which seems likelier from the context), in which case one wonders why she singles out the case of *daughters* of a family member continuing to farm that member's individual portion of family land, when more usually it is a question of his *son* being allowed to continue farming there.

Nor is the statement that " 'family land' is used mostly for food gardens, which are often worked by a family in the strict sense of the word, i.e. a man, his wife and children, or a woman and her children" a happy one. The expression "family land" is used to denote all land in which the family holds the ultimate interest ; whether this interest is absolute (i.e. the family owns the title to the land, and there is no superior title in a stool), or dependent (on the stool's absolute interest in the land), is irrelevant in this context, and does not affect the terminology.

With the great development of cocoa-farming, it is no longer true to say that such "family lands" will mainly consist of food-farms. Again, Miss Manoukian says that "if a person plants a palm or other economic tree" (on an individually-held plot of family land), then the tree belongs to him. Such a case arises now principally in connexion with the planting of cocoa-trees ; it is interesting to ask in what sense such a tree planted by an individual on family land will "belong" to him, that is, he will own it. Normally, such a tree goes with the land, and since an individual member of a family cannot of his own act break the line of succession to the farm (title to which remains with his family through all the changes in use of it), trees planted by him will pass in the normal course of succession to his successor appointed by the family. It is true that, during the planter's lifetime, he alone will enjoy the fruits from the tree ; but one can say little more than that.

Manoukian tells us[1] how the "individual ownership of usufruct may be acquired". There is, however, a considerable difference in the legal position if a man acquires a farm on the one hand by clearing and cultivating unoccupied forest-land, or by purchase, and on the other hand by inheritance. In the former case his family has no immediate vested interest in the farm ; the family has no more than a "*spes successionis*". Hence the individual may deal with such property freely as an owner, save only for the limitation in some areas that if he proposes to dispose of the property outright he, should inform his family (and if the alienation is for no consideration — i.e. it is a gift — he may even be required to obtain the consent of his family first). But in the latter case, where he inherits a farm title is with the family, the farm is family property, and the cultivator has no more than a limited interest of use dependent upon the family's interest. The cultivator's powers of alienating or charging the farm are then much restricted.[2]

In discussing the *abusa* system, by which a tenant pays 1/3 of the annual produce to the landlord as rent, it would have been helpful to indicate that when a cocoa-farmer employs a labourer to look after his farm (he is usually called a "caretaker") and remunerates him on an *abusa* basis, the 1/3 goes in this case not to the owner of the farm, but to the caretaker.

7. *What is law?:* Dr. Jeffreys raises this question in his reference, already noted, to the two strains, one without law, the other with law, which go to make up to present Akan communities. As I see it, the fundamental feature of Akan adjudication is the practice of "arbitration", which is used in the Gold Coast with a specialized meaning. Typically, disputes arising within a family are settled by the family, which usually means by the head of the family, with or without some of the elders of the family. Similarly disputes between families are settled by a meeting between representatives of the two families. Disputes arising in a village will usually be submitted first to the village head or *odikro* for arbitration. Even to-day, with the establishment

[1] pp. 50–51.

[2] It is only fair to Miss Manoukian to say that she does mention later on that a farm may become family property through the operation of the rules of inheritance ; the preliminary confusion in her account still remains, however.

of a regular series of native or local courts, the traditional method of settling disputes is in favour ; parties will still take an unsettled dispute to their chief for semi-official arbitration. Such was the traditional method of litigation (encountered also in other parts of Africa), the basic principle of which was that the parties submitted their dispute voluntarily to arbitration, and even when a decision had been given by the arbitrator its enforcement depended on the acceptance by the parties of the award. (It is thus very different from the English Law of Arbitration, in which, once a party has agreed to submit his case to arbitration, he is bound by the award without more.) The growing political power of chiefs meant that they sometimes tended to summon the second party to a dispute on the complaint of the first, and also that they enforced originally and not by way of complaint breaches of their commands or infringements of their own property-rights. Most significant here is the development of the "oath" system :[1] a party, by swearing on a chief's oath, makes his dispute the business of the chief, since he has *prima facie* infringed the right of the chief in the oath by himself mentioning it. The subsequent hearing before the chief concerned is in appearance "criminal" (the question being whether the oath was used unjustifiably), though the matter is in substance a "civil" one Dr. Jeffreys' statement — that the arbitral method of adjudication is that of the indigenous, lawless, element in the Akan population, whilst the chief's hearing of cases is that of the conquering upper layer — does not correspond with the indubitable connexion in nature between an "arbitration" held by a bystander called in by two individuals who are quarrelling, an "arbitration" conducted by the head of a family, and a chief sitting to hear a dispute between his subjects. The chief's powers are a projection and an enlargement of those possessed by persons in inferior authority. All that is new is that as the power of territorial chiefs grew, various public offences formerly justiciable by the community were heard by him, he could issue commands and punish the breach of them, he was available to hear private disputes in quasi-criminal form on a unilateral application. All this was, I submit, a natural development, and not the sudden application of "conqueror's law", such as occurred in England after the Norman invasion. The same test must therefore be applied throughout to discover whether what was administered was law or not ; by Austinian tests the great majority of the rules by which personal and political relations were governed among the Akan peoples is not law. I myself feel that the dogma — "Law is the command of a sovereign" — is inappropriate outside the sphere of European Law, especially since modern jurists are by no means satisfied that it is adequate even for our own "civilized" legal systems.

[1] MANOUKIAN, pp. 40–41.

* * *

Dr. M.D.W. Jeffreys writes in reply :

Mr. Allott disagrees with my outlook on what is law and what is not law. As I was on the bench in Nigeria for thirty years administering law, as lawyers understand the word and "native law and custom" as anthropologists understand these words, I propose to make only a brief statement here and state my views more fully elsewhere. The definition of law is not a matter for anthropologists. Their attempts, such as that of Malinowski, have revealed a confusion of thought that could never make their outlook *ad idem* with that of the lawyers. If law is to be defined, then it is to the lawyers that one must go for a definition of the subject-matter. One of the best books on this subject is that of the eminent American lawyer, William Seagle, in his book : *The Quest for Law*, (New York : 1941). Anthropologists will also find it profitable to read Seagle's article : "Primitive Law and Malinowski" in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXIX of 1937, pp. 275–290.

A definition of law that is acceptable is one found in *The Collected Legal Papers of Mr. Justice O. W. Holmes*, (New York : 1941) p. 173 : "The prophecies of what the courts will do in fact, and nothing more pretentious, are what I mean by law." The Anthropologist, Professor Hoebel of Utah University, in his book, *Man in*

the Primitive World (New York : 1949) p. 361, sums up the situation succinctly when he writes : ". . . we must conclude : no courts, no law."

This definition of law is true only when courts derive from, or have been influenced by, Kings' Councils. In other words, *law comes with the coming of the Kings*. Such a definition holds wherever it is applied, and hence it need not necessarily be restricted to Europe, *vide* Mr. Allott, where law did not originate but merely developed.

Seagle (loc. cit., p. 11) remarks : "Mankind has been governed by custom longer than it has lived under the reign of law." This truism is illustrated by Mr. Allott when he writes : "By Austinian tests the great majority of the rules by which personal and political relations were governed among the Akan peoples is not law." In other words the Akan people still lack law. Whence it is clear that law does not arise from the social structure, even "naturally".

BOOK IN REVIEW

Zulu Legends. W.H.I. Bleek. Edited by J.A. Engelbrecht. (van Schaik, Pretoria : 1952.) xiv + 46 pp., 15/-.

Professor Engelbrecht has handled most wisely this 1857 Ms. of Dr. Bleek's, which is item No. 1204 in his catalogue of the Grey Collection. He discusses Bleek's orthography (often faulty and inconsistent) in his introduction, reproduces Bleek's textual material and his translation faithfully ; and adds explanatory footnotes thereto. Following the textual material are Bleek's own notes, often containing very interesting facts. On page 31 is Bleek's discussion of the word *aBa-ntu*, with his suggestion to use *Ba-ntu* as "the best general term for that family of languages, of which the Kafir is known to be one of the most original and therefore, for the purposes of philology, most important members". This is a most interesting reference, in a Ms. dated 1857, as the earliest published suggestion of the name by Bleek was in his *Comparative Grammar*, Part I, in 1862.

The "Legends" themselves deal with Creation myths (Ch. III of which is a fragment of a longer account noted by Callaway at Maritzburg at the same time, and included in his *Religious System of the Amazulu*, published in 1870), lists of tribal names (which also appear in Petermann's table and map of 1856, of which photostat copies are included), instructions of uNkulunkulu to the first people, ancestral spirits, courting customs, marriage, birth, death, witchcraft, hunting. Included is an account of a dialogue between Rev. R. Robertson and a Zulu concerning the death of Nandi, Shaka's mother, a valuable piece of early historical evidence. The editor adds a "revised version" of the Zulu text, using standard orthography and allowing himself "considerable freedom" (as he states in his introduction) in constructional revision. The whole is a worthwhile publication, and constitutes a valuable addition to Bantu studies. It shows how quickly Bleek was able to grip the essentials of Zulu, after so short a stay among the people.

C.M.D.

THE EARLY PORTUGUESE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

(A Review of *Portuguese and Dutch in South Africa : 1641–1806*, by Sidney R. Welch)[1]

CHARLES EDWARD FULLER

FOR YEARS Africanists have vainly awaited a reliable, well-documented history of the European discovery, exploration, colonization, and expansion of Southern Africa. Dr. Eric Axelson's excellent *South East Africa, 1488–1530* (London : 1940) sharpened the appetite for more of this type of scholastic and critical work. The appearance of a steady stream of titles from the pen of the priest, Dr. Sidney R. Welch, was rich in promise.[2] These justify the reader in expecting that this amazing mass of material, if matched both with sufficient historical accuracy and objective balance and perspective, should fit the need. Should this be presented with a thoroughly representative cross-section of historical data available for the various periods under consideration, readers may tolerate any ideological bias which may motivate the author, trusting that this will not distort the account to any great degree.

Those who have read the earlier works by this author are prepared for the presentation of the *Portuguese and Dutch in South Africa*, 1641–1806. The eloquent, homiletical, yet intimate, and sometimes flippant style of writing makes it easy and pleasant reading. The array of material detailing persons, events, correspondence, and other matters of historical importance is impressive. Although never conscious of bothersome footnotes, one finds obvious documentation. The reader might query the aptness of the title but not the persistence of motivating bias which reinforces what was evident in the earlier works of Welch.

This orientation might be stated as follows : (1) the superiority of Portuguese and Spanish activities because of Roman Catholic tutelage and their inherently better culture and true democracy ; (2) the inferiority of the brutal English and Dutch activities because of their Protestant bigotry and irreligious materialism and their inherently low moral character ; (3) the perfection of the Roman Catholic Church, its clergy, its holy inquisition, and its spiritually political operations ; (4) and the sad plight of the Irish under the British. The interest of Welch in the process of occupation appears to be in the suavity and tenderness of the Church-trained Portuguese and the profane brutality of the British and Dutch. His concern for slavery is to present the innocence of the Latins, except where maneuvered into the terrible trade against their wishes and that of their religion by the real slaving culprits, the British and Dutch ; and with the touching fact that the former carefully tried to bring all slaves under the blessings of the Gospel before going to America. As to international intrigues, these pages weep over the unfair ways in which the Portuguese were treated by their less Christian neighbours, particularly Britain, Holland, and sometimes half-Christian France.

The historicity of data presented in this volume may generally be defended. The technique of the author is clear : the omission of known facts contrary to his thesis, and the amplification and glorification of facts favoring his biased view. His history is thrown completely out of perspective.

One reads early the reason for the comparison between the Latins and the Anglo-Saxons :

[1] (Juta, Cape Town : 1951.)

[2] 1935, *Europe's Discovery of South Africa;* 1946, *South Africa Under King Manuel, 1495–1521;* 1949, *South Africa Under King John III, 1521–1557*, 1949, *South Africa Under King Sebastian and the Cardinal, 1557–1580 ;* 1950, *Portuguese Rule and Spanish Crown in South Africa, 1581–1640 ;* 1951, *Portuguese and Dutch in South Africa, 1641–1806 ;* (Juta, Cape Town).

"These brutalities in England and Holland are only interests here, because they help us to understand how the long tradition of orderly freedom in Portugal preserved that country from dissipating its energies by internal strife. Kings, nobles and people had a common aim, and were directed in that aim by ancient institutions, which voiced the opinion of every class. There was no sectarianism, and there was no organized instrument of trade power or money power that could hold the people in fee. The government might be called democratic in the only sense that can make that soiled word respectable. The willing support of the government, even when its officials were as far away as China or Mozambique, made up for much lack of men, money, and munitions. It also helps to explain how a country of so small a population was able to achieve so much" (p. 35).

Portuguese superior manhood (p. 34), their refusal to "kow-tow to wealth" (p. 324), their imperviousness to the temptation of profiteering (p. 4), and their complete freedom (pp. 66, 324, etc.) together with their moral reinforcement by their clergy (p. 415), accounted for their succeeding where others failed. They had a tradition of great forbearance with other races (p. 73). As to their treatment of the native Africans, the land owners adopted a patriarchal attitude consistent with that of the native chief (p. 51), careful not to violate the natives' rights, and taking up lands only on permission of the African owners or after a war punishing a native chief for his unreasonable treatment of his benefactors. The Portuguese traditional loyalty and discipline kept the panic-stricken survivors of shipwrecks in good order (p. 57). Their decline — when fortunes were adverse, toward the end of the eighteenth century — was due to "no faults of character, nor lack of energy", but a result of invasion by England and others (p. 793). It is of interest to read that the Portuguese were not interested in being masters, but partners of Indians and others, mutually benefiting by trade, unlike the imperialists of England and Holland (p. 305). Their reputation was so well known that the Africans welcomed them, knowing that they were safe under the Portuguese flag (p. 505). This cordial relationship was so evident that for two hundred years most East Coast tribes were loyal and friendly to their considerate masters (p. 410). This was due, largely, to Portugal's desire to make peace with the tribes, arranging relationships by treaties of friendship rather than by force (p. 415). This colonizing benefactor did not like to fight, but only fought her victorious battles when forced to do so by aggressors and rebels who did not appreciate the fact that Portugal's patience and kindness was not a matter of weakness but of religious training (pp. 361, 345, 418, etc.). Most of her slaves were more or less personal followers, in keeping with African customs where they were taken, these being faithful to the people who, in their superior conditions, could supply their need for "someone to think for them, to direct and look after them" (pp. 73–74). Usually the people they christianized were loving and loyal in appreciation, though some incapable of gratitude occasionally varied from this pattern (p. 418).

Portugal, having been taught by the Roman Catholic Church, along with Spain, did not like slaving. As they had declared in 1609 that all American natives, Christian or not, were free, economic necessity forced slavery of Africans for Spanish and Portuguese America, coercing the unwilling Portuguese to sell African slaves. These, of course, according to Portuguese licence, were only "blacks . . . already slaves of their chiefs in their own lands. It was a transference of these slaves from black to white hands" (p. 421). This, certainly removed the wrong of slavery ! The conditions of slavery were also ameliorated (perhaps christianized) by the appointment of Roman Catholic clergy at the ports to catechize and bless the slaves before they sailed, chaplains to Portuguese slave ships, and priests in the South American ports to care for their spiritual and physical condition before they ascended the slave auction blocks there (pp. 36, 492, 193f., 481f.). It was so controlled that Portuguese slave ships did not experience cruelty as the Anglo-

Saxon ships (pp. 256, 421, 492, etc.), the Portuguese did not mistreat their slaves (p. 256) ; and "The slave trade caused no feeling against the Portuguese on this coast, because it was a recognized social institution of the tribes ; and the Portuguese exercised it with such humanity as is possible in a traffic of this nature" (p. 35). The slaving really came, not as a result of the Portuguese desire, but rather because the Dutch and English so dominated African and American trade as to drive the unwilling Portuguese into it (p. 74f.). Certainly they were never guilty of slave raids as were others (p. 494).

Portugal's history was blighted on several occasions by English influence. The ambitious, "crater of a moral earthquake", Marquez de Pombal, admirer of the English Inquisition, friend of the Jansenist sect, idol of the slave dealers in Brazil, tactless enemy of the Jesuits, upset all the good done by his predecessors, all the Christian influence of the Jesuits, and almost wrecked the holy kingdom. "A man who could imagine himself to be a Catholic, after the manner of the kings and heroes of Portugal's golden era, whilst treating the Pope as brutally as he did, was capable of any self-deception . . . His prisons were filled with the noblest representatives of the laity and clergy" (p. 488). After bringing Portugal to the brink of disaster, "this criminal, who spared no opponent . . . was spared the fate he deserved by his truly Christian opponents" (p. 500).

The other occasions of disgrace were when Portuguese individuals were "dazzled for a while by the financial prosperity of the Dutch and English companies, and imagined that there was some special virtue in those systems" (p. 416). These were inferior, of course, to the "democratic structure of Portuguese society", and therefore of short life in a country where superior Christian principles existed.

Portugal's amazing success is explained by its ideology, briefly described as "an imperial system unique in history"

> "The Portuguese colonies were practically self-governing ; but the traditional links with the homeland consisted of common principles of order, culture, affection and religion. These are the most difficult for an enemy to break. These voluntary links of the spirit made the scattered empire of Portugal a more united commonwealth than the thirteen wrangling and jealous states of North America at this time ; whose only bond of union was a common enmity to Great Britain, and the backing of France, Spain and Holland" (p. 807).

History of Portuguese activities in Africa between 1641 and 1806 takes the form of a chronologically arranged set of illustrations of this set of homilies, intertwined with another set relating to the unfortunate presence of the British and Dutch in Africa, as well as their evil treatment of Portugal in Europe.

The Dutch merit little space for the presentation of their activities, but they are effectively described ! They were intollerant bigots (p. 468), without any real cultural, literary, or religious unity (p. 464), who, in spite of ostentations religious slogans, cared little for their religion, but, like fools, listened to their preachers who had political ends (pp. 116–17). For two centuries they never attempted to teach the religion they professed (pp. 767f.), and allowed their children to be totured by exsailors who knew little about spiritual matters (p. 462). They knew no ideal of freedom except their own freedom (p. 324), being but a reflex, in the colony, of the despotism of the fatherland (p. 324). Their piety was false, and their missionaries were lazy (p. 755f.). Among them the bigotted minority made propaganda against the Portuguese and against Roman Catholicism which was a "poison gas" in Amsterdam's atmosphere (pp. 14–15). Their persecution of the Romanists was not as severe as Britain's, but sufficiently evil (p. 358). Their kings, usually termed, by Welch, as "High Mightinesses" were rulers of people who lived in a condition which to a man from a Christian country like Portugal appeared to be "a mad world ; coming, as he did from a Christian country where the popular dynasty controlled the money power in the interest of the people as a whole, as it had done

for centuries" (p. 44). Those Hollanders who had seen "the greater liberty which the Portuguese settlers enjoyed" were sorry at their own condition (p. 324). They had not the same amenities that the fortunate Portuguese had (p. 395). Their difficulty was in living under a nationality in which the only great crime was "injury or limitation to the profits of the company" (p. 323). As to their treatment, the only concern they had for "the savages" was the kind of a deal in cattle that they could make (p. 323). It is easy to see the reason :

> "With their Dutch mother-country the Afrikaners had not those intimate bonds of culture, literature, and religion, that made the Portuguese colonist feel that he was a Portuguese citizen ; . . ." (p. 764).

Their religion, dependent, at best, on a "hedgehog system of Bible reading", with few Bibles (p. 394), had little effect on their godlessness and licentiousness (p. 395). It was when Holland possessed Angola and controlled Brazilian trade that degeneration took place in the former colony and slaving really developed (pp. 165 ff.).

The British, whose cruel treatment of the Irish is well known, and who have had rulers such as the libertine Henry VIII and the violent, vulgar, pirate-like, ruffian, tyrannical, mentally crude Cromwell (pp. 5, 32, 34, 36, 41, 45, 63, 81, 87–89, 143, 157, 293, 299, 522, etc.) could hardly be expected to produce anything but "lofty Asiatic plunderers" (cf. chapter XXII). "National prosperity was now measured in London by the volume of trade that came in ships from India." The poor were the worst to be found anywhere in Europe (p. 327). Trade was their idol, cheating and piracy highly honoured (pp. 317, 328ff.), and materialism regnant. Pirates and buccaneers flourished under the British system, encouraged by kings and queens (pp. 6, 35, 129, 203, 205, 228, etc.), and pirates like Robert Jenkins became national heroes (p. 317). One gathers that buccaneering started under the influence of Oliver Cromwell, the instigator of anti-Catholic wars and attacks (pp. 503 ff.). There was no worse slaving than went on under the British flag (pp. 421 ff., etc.).

Thomas Carlyle's statement that the history of mankind is the history of great men shares the apparently English view that great men have been bullies and destroyers. Welch, in part of an eloquent critique of Carlyle, says : "These bullies, with temporary power in their hands, have too often initiated their own legend, by proclaiming themselves the spokesmen of mankind or of world opinion" (p. 393).

Like the Dutch, the English did not attempt to convert the Africans, nor to spread the Gospel they professed to believe (p. 768). They were unwilling to "sacrifice money or trade for the spread of the Gospel", but as a Muslim, Mohammad Iqbal is quoted as saying, their religion, the Reformation,

> "was essentially a political movement, and the general result of it in Europe was a gradual displacement of the universal ethics of Christianity by systems of national ethics" (p. 467).

To this Welch adds : "National interests in cash or trade and company interests were the only ones that counted in such countries. It was a corrosive mentality in the men who ruled" (p. 467).

Like the Dutch, the British persecuted the Catholics (p. 358). How they treated the Irish ! They had an irresponsible type of Inquisition controlled by the state, so unlike the righteous and well managed Inquisition in Portugal under the trustworthy hands of the Pope and his representatives, the Jesuits (p. 479 ff.). Under the Buccaneers, the English delighted in stirring up the slaves in South America against "their Spanish benefactors" (p. 504). Yet, unlike the Africans, in their isolation, the English "had only to cross the Channel, to find large centres of attractive Christian life" (p. 70) as though there were no Christianity on the Island.

It is interesting to note the reason England abandoned piracy for colonization ; for as Welch says :

> "This strength of the Dutch in the Indian Ocean was the culminating misfortune that

drove the English to establish colonies in America, instead of depending mainly upon the plunder of rich Portuguese and Spanish ships on the American route . . . Large numbers of paupers arose in England, whom it seemed advisable to ship abroad" (p. 52).

In a review of a book on African history, it appears unnecessary to take time to consider the many pages dedicated to proving the superiority of the Roman Catholic Church and its doctrines and policies to those other than the "historical Church of Christ", as Welch describes his religion (p. 358). The axe is ground explicitly and implicitly on page after page of a "history". The blessing of the Inquisition, the harmony of the orders, the national unity, papal neutrality between Portugal and Spain, the papal authority over kings and princes, the superiority of the Gregorian Calendar vainly resisted by the Protestant countries, the consistent opposition to slavery (*sic*), and the sad plight of the Romanist denomination whose churches and cathedrals have been stolen by the Protestants in England, Holland, and elsewhere — these are but few of the subjects which command interest in this history of Africa. Numerous also are the references to the irreligious Protestants who cared little "for the religion of the New Testament", as "is seen in their utter neglect of it in their colonies, except in destroying much of the fine evangelical efforts of Portugal and Spain "(p. 116). In speaking of the Reformation, Welch says that the administration of the "new religion had been engineered by men of the type of Sir William Cecil, who possessed about 300 estates stolen from the old Church", using their wealth to invest in "piracy against the rich Catholic nations which had opened up the roads to the new markets of the world" (p. 358).

There are, however passages of value in this work, tucked in among the religious and political arguments that fill 809 pages of text.

It is a shame that we do not have English translations of some excellent Portuguese histories of the discovery and exploitation of Africa. In spite of their realistic recognition of a mixture of good and evil in their own and their neighbours' history, they show a respect, mixed with frankness, in regard to the activities of the priests, and a facing of facts about slavery, military occupation, and other details. We await a reliable, well-documented history of Africa's development.

A few notes to African history from a Portuguese historian

DECENT SEAMANSHIP AND PARTNERSHIP

("It was clearly time (1769) to return to the older notion of an international law binding all nations, and to the decent seamanship of the two greatest Latin nations, Portugal and Spain." WELCH, p. 523.)

". . . in 1500 . . . Vasco da Gama, returning from India, irritated with the *samorim*, not only for the manner with which he had received him when at first he made port in his lands, but also because of the attack on the Portuguese factory and because he refused to prohibit, as we had wanted him, to prohibit commerce to the Moslems to whom Calcutta owed its great prosperity, exercised reprisals on some Arabs who fell in his hands. His fury arose to the level of ordering one embarcation to be burned with more than three hundred persons of all ages and sexes returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca." General J.J.T. BOTELHO. *Historia Militar e Politicca dos Portugueses em Moçambique da Descoberta a 1833.* (Lisbon : 1934, p. 8.)

("The Portuguese . . . aim was not to be masters of India' but partners . . ." WELCH p. 305 : "Portuguese tradition of forebearance in dealing with other races." WELCH, p. 73.)

"Morover, we lacked the friendship of the orientrels, who would have been a powerful aid,

but we did not know how to capture it in the eighty years in which we had no competitors from Europe beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

"The progress of the Hollanders, by all these motives and perhaps for others, especially because of their more tolerant spirit in religious matters, was rapid." BOTELHO, 1934, p. 29.

MISSIONARIES PACIFIC AND CHRISTIAN INTENT AND PATIENT TEACHING

("These Portuguese gentlemen believed the Christian faith to be a treasure more valuable than gold or diamonds." WELCH, p. 68 ; "Alcuin, ... like the Dominicans and Jesuits did not believe that victory in war could make a Christian ... 'Christian faith is a matter of free will, not of pressure' ..." WELCH, p. 70 ; "... Dominicans and Jesuits were in agreement on one aspect of method. Both stressed the importance of careful teaching before baptism." WELCH, p. 256 ; "There is no indication that the missionaries or their families benefitted by their trade." WELCH, p. 265 ; etc. "From their very first dealings with the natives of this coast the Portuguese had not insisted on any right of conquest ..." WELCH, 1950, p. 89 ; etc.)

The Francisco Barreto expedition, sent at the insistance of the Table of Conscience (1569) by the Portuguese to punish the African tribes "responsible" for the martyrdom of Father Gonçalo da Silveira and to build forts and set up garrisons to make war on natives to protect the clergy, was accompanied by missionaries to hold Barreto to these purposes. The expedition also wanted to expropriate the gold and silver mines of Monomotapa, on which the Portuguese had had designs from the beginning. The entire command voted in council to proceed from Sofala in a way facilitating the capture of the mines and conquering the country. The priest, Monclaros, a Jesuit, "blind with sectarian ardour, would exact vengeance". First agreeing to the commander's plans in the unanimous decision, he afterwards threatened Barreto, thereby forcing the latter to accept the priests' plan, sacrificing the entire expedition in seeking to the martyr's disloyal converts. (BOTELHO, 1934, pp. 174–200.) Peace was offered to the chief on condition of his expelling the Moors, respecting the priests and guarding their faith, and ceding free access to the mines. (BOTELHO, 1934, p. 196.) "The expedition ... showed that our soldiers were capable of penetrating the interior and of going to the most remote of their habitations if necessary. It was for this, without doubt, that the Monomotapa recognized our jurisdiction over eleven habitations in the vicinity of Tete, which represented an important enlargement of our authority." (BOTELHO, 1934, p. 207.) "Peace would have reigned in Mocaranga, we might say, if it were not for one of those incidents which the Portuguese, sad to say, by their behaviour, often originated." (BOTELHO, p. 281.) Sena's commander. Estevao de Ataide, beheaded the guards of Monomotapa's store house, inciting revolt against the Portuguese (BOTELHO, p. 282), which in turn had to be punished. The terms of peace and friendship with Chief Manura, hand-picked by the Jesuits for the office which was legally due to another chief, Capranzine, whom Portuguese troops led by Jesuit priests and soldiers deposed, demanded (1) respect for the Portuguese authority, (2) missionary freedom for the Catholics, (3) freedom and protection of trade, (4) respect for the sacredness of the priests, (5) expulsion of the Moslems, (6) opening of the mines for the Fortuguese, (7) exemption of Whites from all respect ordinarily due to African kings, (8) tribute, etc. "The document was read in the presence of armed men, the chief having signed it with a cross below his name, which was written by Friar Luiz do Espirito Santo ... As recompence the chief received, in 1631, the right to the Christian habit and the licence to give freely a certain amount of clothes for the use of those nearest to him" (BOTELHO, pp.297-8.) The poor Friar and other missionaries were later martyred among these people whom they had so kindly helped to become the happy subjects of the Portuguese and recipients of Jesuit kindnesses. Jesuits and Dominicans helped raise armies to make just reprisals against the ungrateful people. (BOTELHO, 29 ff.)

"The priests were no longer the heroic missionaries who suffered martyrdom with a smile on their lips ... On the contrary, they put before their spiritual obligations their own temporal interests, and at times with the refinement of the most vile mercantilism. From the ministers of the Lord on the earth that had strayed into gainful and incorrigible trades, even to being inhuman slavers ... The complaints against them (the Jesuits) came from far, not only from Moçambique, but also in Angola and principally in Brazil. . .With the governors the bishops joined the choir (of complaint) when they themselves were not also involved in the accusations ... In Moçambique, moreover, all the members of the clergy, whether regular or secular, were criminals of pernicious excesses ... The captain-general Pedro de Saldanha accused them of selling arms, powder, and balls to the Kaffirs, who afterward made war on us ... The abuse arrived at the point where a captain-general (Pereira do Lago, 1765) ... was forced to publish a note in which, after stigmatizing the ecclesiastics who had perverted their holy ministry ... in public and scandalous negotiations, rushed on by their ambitions, ... without being perturbed by the bad example they gave, not only to Christians, but also to the unfaithful." This official then prohibited all from selling trade goods to the priests. Later the hospital at Moçambique was taken from the priests because of abuses and "the fault of humanity with the sick". Part of the fault lay, as seen by Botelho, in the climate, the adversity among the people, and the low support (from the State) which allowed the priests to fall to the temptation to enter trade for subsistence, and then led them to search for riches which many obtained. In 1802 the captain general (Almeida de Sousa e Sa) said that it was "long since that the missionaries had left going to the interior to instruct the Blacks, because their commerce, which had motivated them, was cut off by law". (BOTELHO, pp. 415–23.)

BOOK IN REVIEW

The Economy of a Native Reserve. D. HOBART HOUGHTON and EDITH M. WALTON. (Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg: 1952.) 194 pp., 27/6.

The National Council for Social Research has initiated and financed an investigation into the conditions of life in a typical Native Reserve. The Kieskamahoek District in the Ciskei, in the eastern part of the Union of South Africa, was selected for this intensive rural survey, which was an investigation into the physical environment and the social and economic conditions in an area of about 220 square miles with a population of about 18,000 persons, the vast majority of whom were Africans.

The Survey, which extended over the period 1947 to 1951, was directed by Professor Lindsay Robb, previously a reserch professor at Pretoria University. It was carried out by voluntary workers from the universities and by officers seconded from various government departments together with a small paid staff. A striking feature of the investigations was the close co-operation between these bodies. The economic and social surveys were planned and supervised respectively by Professors D. Hobart Houghton and Monica Wilson, and the first volume was edited by Professor E.D. Mountain, of Rhodes University.

This second volume in the series of four is the competent work of an economist concerned mainly with poverty, migrant labour, and broken family life in this depressed area.

Although this survey relates specifically to Keiskamahoek, the district is typical of the greater part of the Ciskei and Transkei and has many features in common with all the Native reserves in the Union. The reports are essentially factual, but in this intensive study of a small area there is much new detail about the impact of the modern world economy on African tribal life.

X.

IN MEMORY OF RHEINALLT JONES

It is with the deepest regret that we record the death of Mr. J.D. Rheinallt Jones which occurred in Johannesburg on 30 January 1953. One of the foremost pioneers of African studies in the Union, Mr. Rheinallt Jones was the founder and first editor of this journal, which gratefully records the following account of his life and work.

John David Rheinallt Jones was born in 1884, the younger son of the Rev. J. Eiddon Jones, of Llanrug, North Wales and was educated at Friars School, Bangor and Beaumaris Grammar School. He came to the Cape Colony in 1904, apparently for reasons of health, joining the staff of a bank in Cape Town where he lived until he left for Johannesburg in 1918. He was married in 1910 and by his first wife, who died in 1944, he had one daughter.

Even before he came to the Rand, Rheinallt Jones had revealed, in his early manhood, an aptitude and a concern for public affairs that grew all through his life. Already, in 1915, he had become editor of *The South African Quarterly*, a serious journal, and he held the post until 1926, displaying a flair for editorial work that was also to find a wider outlet later.

In 1919 he was appointed secretary of the Witwatersrand Council of Education. This was an unofficial body formed by so-called *uitlanders* in the nineties of last century, with the object of endowing education that the South African Republic did not support. In its service Rheinallt Jones was at once drawn into a wider sphere of educational administration. He became honorary secretary to the movement which successfully aimed at transforming the South African School of Mines and Technology (1910) first into a University College (1920) and then into the University of the Witwatersrand (1922). For ten years Rheinallt Jones was closely associated with these developments, ultimately becoming assistant registrar of the University, 1928–30. These and other services were recognized in the conferment on him by the University in 1931 of the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

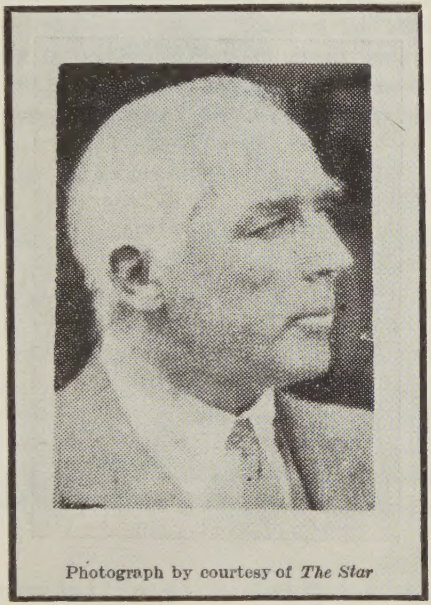
But his heart was really in what came to be called first "the Native problem" and afterwards "race relations", the latter a term he had brought back with him after a visit to the United States. Although he himself had never enjoyed the advantage of formal higher education, it is a remarkable fact that Rheinallt Jones was among the first — if, indeed, he was not the very first — in South Africa to perceive the public importance of organizing the academic study of African life and institutions. Encouraged and assisted by Alfred Hoernlé, recently appointed to the chair of philosophy, and by his wife, Mrs. A. Winifred Hoernlé, trained in anthropology at Cambridge, Rheinallt Jones urged the establishment of a Department of Bantu Studies in the new University. It came some years later, with Hoernlé acting as its administrative head and with Mrs. Hoernlé the first lecturer in social anthropology and Mr. (later Professor) C.M. Doke lecturing in Bantu languages.

The Department was preceded in October 1921 by *Bantu Studies* (as this journal was named until 1942), of which Rheinallt Jones was the founder and first editor, and the Witwatersrand Council of Education the first publisher, as it is to this day the most generous supporter. Incidentally, he also secured publication, as "special numbers" of this journal, of books such as those by Howard Rogers on Native administration and W.G. Stafford on Native law.

The first number of this journal quoted on its first page an article from *The South African Quarterly* (no doubt written by Rheinallt Jones) of September 1920:

"It is admitted on all hands that contact with the white man is rapidly effecting the disintegration of primitive native life. New ideas are

being superimposed on old ones in law, customs, and even in language. The work of investigation in this transition stage is, therefore, much more difficult than it was a quarter of a century or even a decade ago. The creation of a band of trained workers in the ethnology, psychology, and sociology of the African natives, and in the philology of African languages, can alone meet the situation."



Photograph by courtesy of *The Star*

The branch of African studies that most attracted Rheinallt Jones himself was Native Law and Administration. Dr. Edgar Brookes, then in the chair of political science in the Transvaal University College in Pretoria, had come over to Johannesburg to lecture on this subject in the University of the Witwatersrand and Mr. A.S. Welsh, Q.C. had also done so for a short time. From about 1929, when Native Law had been fully recognized in the Union and the new Native Apeal Courts inaugurated, Rheinallt Jones gave a regular course, in the Department of Bantu Studies, to which he was appointed the first lecturer on this subject. This part-time post he held until he was elected, in 1937, to the Senate as the first representative in Parliament of the Africans of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Incidentally, he had also formed the Inter-University Committee on African Studies to encourage and co-ordinate research.

In the nineteen-twenties Rheinallt Jones had been active in forming, and nursing, in various towns Joint Councils of Europeans and Natives. In 1929 he convened and organized a national European-Bantu conference, the first of its kind, in Cape Town. In the same year, with the aid of the Phelps-Stokes Foundation and later of the Carnegie Corporation, he established the South African Institute of Race Relations, becoming its Adviser (later Director). This important development was to put research, welfare, and other activities on an enduring basis, and it succeeded in full measure. From that time Rheinallt Jones invested most of his inexhaustible energies in the Institute and under his wise guidance it flourished and expanded. He also started, and for years edited, its quarterly journal, *Race Relations*.

Rheinallt Jones then suffered three heavy blows in succession. In 1942 he was defeated in the parliamentary contest for the Senate seat by a candidate with more radical views; in 1943 the death occurred of his close friend and ally, Alfred Hoernlé, for long President of the Institute; and in 1944 the death of his wife, Edith B. Jones, a woman of great gifts and solid reputation in her own right ended a grand partnership fruitful through many years. But this gallant spirit survived these blows and he continued in his active courses. In 1947 he was offered and, after some hesitation, accepted the new post in Johannesburg, of Adviser on Native affairs to the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa. This involved his resignation from the office of Director of the Institute, but no break in his connection with its work. In 1950 he was honoured by his old friends and colleagues by election as President of the Institute. In his post with the Corporation he was enabled in recent years to travel more widely in Africa than ever before, accompanied by his second wife who shared his interest in the continent beyond the Union.

Rheinallt Jones accumulated a great store of detailed knowledge of South African life and affairs, and especially of Native affairs. He never

found time enough to write a book of his own, but he put his knowledge into numerous articles in journals and periodicals and into pamphlets. He also gave valuable evidence before almost every commission of inquiry into racial problems since 1920; and he wrote countless memoranda for the information of the Institute and its members. All this work was of a uniformly high standard.

Rheinallt Jones was a unique figure in the public life of the Union. Wherever he went, he made life-long friends among teachers, missionaries, business men, and even politicians, whom he sought to influence, and, not least, among a host of non-European people. His invariably constructive turn of mind, always seeking positive remedies for social evils; his stout-hearted faith in humanity, even in the face of adversity; and his notable charm of personality — these admirable qualities will ensure that his name and achievements are cherished by all who continue to labour in the fields he cultivated so long, so persistently, and with such noble purpose.